Daily Report

East Europe

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CSCE Delegate on Military Doctrines Seminar

LD0202230290 Prague CTK in English 2127 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Vienna Feb 2 (CTK correspondent)—The current seminar on military doctrines has confirmed the irreplaceability of the exchange of views which has acquired a qualitatively new dimension by the presence of high-ranking military representatives of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) signatories, head of a Czechoslovak delegation Ladislav Balcar told CTK here today.

He referred to the seminar taking place here since January 16 within the framework of talks of the 35 CSCE participants on Confidence-and Security-Building measures in Europe with the aim to present and compare military doctrines of the Helsinki Final Act signatories. The Czechoslovak official said that all the participants evaluated the seminar positively. Discussions had a business-like, non-confrontation and open charracter, he stated and concluded that although assessment of the outcome of the talks will require some time, it is clear already now before the end of the seminar that it will be useful to continue this political forum also in the future.

CSSR Representative on Arms Talks Results

AU2912094889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Dec 89 p 6

[Report by Jozef Janta, Bratislava PRAVDA correspondent in Vienna: "The Fourth Round of Talks on Conventional Disarmament Has Ended; Important Start Into the Coming Year"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We have asked Ambassador Ladislav Balcar, head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Vienna talks, whether the comming year might be the year of a radical beginning of conventional disarmament on our continent.

—We are not satisfied with labor productivity. To date, the expended effort has not yielded such results—in the form of the amount of agreed upon texts for the future agreement; we must have a guarantee that, while maintaining this pace, we will conclude the agreement during the next year. Until now only a few texts concerning the exchange of information have been adopted. We are not overestimating this fact, because what is involved are not very controversial issues. L. Balcar thus answered my question about whether there has been success in working out the definition of some types of weapons.

—Not even in the course of the fourth round have we succeeded in finalizing definitions of tanks, armored personnel carriers, and combat helicopters, although when the round began even pessimists believed that at least one definition would be worked out. And I am not even talking about air forces, where standpoints are at variance all the time concerning the issue of defensive air forces. Also the issue of determining the levels of ground troops and air forces remains open. Opinions also differ with regard to the troops stationed abroad. However, we hope that the New Year recess will make it possible for all partners to assess the situation and draw from it conclusions that will help to attain the set objective on time. [passage omitted]

News Conference Held on 'Open Skies' Talks

LD0102222290 Budapest MTI in English 2110 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—An agreement between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on the freedom of control flights will hopefully be reached in 1990, it was announced at the press conference held at the end of the three-day preparatory meeting of the "Open Skies" series of talks.

At the conference, held in Budapest from January 30 to February 1, the expert delegations of the participating countries evaluated the technical and other experiences of the control flight made over Hungary by the Hercules transport plane of the Canadian Air Force on January 6. Participants also reviewed the themes of the negotiation series to be held first in Ottawa from February 12 to 28, and then in Budapest at the end of April.

Tibor Toth, leader of the Hungarian expert delegation, reported that preparations for the Ottawa conference were mainly made in organizational and procedural issues. Foreign ministers of the participating countries are to make opening statements during the first three days of the Ottawa conference. Fred Bild, general secretary of the Ottawa conference, added that the foreign ministers are to appreciate the initiative, which is unique in the history of arms reduction and arms contol talks, the fact that East European, West European and North American countries open their air space to each other, for control aims. Participants will also discuss the East European political situation, which has undergone rapid changes in the past months, in the course of bi- and multilateral discussions. The delegations are to coordinate, on an expert level, the views of the individual nations and the two alliance systems.

The 23 countries attending the talks profess differing views in many issues. The aim is for all states to have a realistic negotiation platform that takes the national security aims into consideration for the Ottawa conference, leaders of the delegations to the preparatory conference said. Toth said that the NATO members have already created their negotiation position, the Warsaw Treaty members have not as yet finalized the position they shall jointly represent.

Participants noted that arms reduction and arms control talks are usually protracted for several years. The "Open Skies" conference is particularly important as the participants intend to reach results within a very short time.

"Open Skies" is the initiative of U.S. President George Bush, and Hungarian foreign policy the first of the Warsaw Treaty states to lend it support. Foreign Minister Gyula Horn proposed that the series of negotiations be held in part on the area of a NATO country, and in part in a Warsaw Treaty member state. Hungary was the first to allow an aircraft of the NATO air fleet over its air- space, for control aims. But, as was noted by the expert delegation of the United States, the Canadian Hercules craft flew into Hungary from the direction of Czechoslovakia.

WFTU Ready To Cooperate With E. Europe TU's

LD2301130390 Prague CTK in English 1050 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 23 (CTK)—The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) is willing to cooperate with new East European trade unions, WFTU Secretary Vsevolod Mozhayev has told CTK, adding that WFTU understands the cadre and structural changes in the trade union movement of East European countries as reflecting the will of workers and considers them a normal process.

Speaking of the WFTU activity in 1990, Mozhayev said that it will centre on the preparation of the 12th WFTU Congress due in Moscow November 13-20.

He pointed out that the 1,200 delegates to the congress will include representatives of West European trade union organizations who have as yet taken part neither in WFTU congresses nor its work. According to Mozhayev, the congress should be "maximally opened for trade unions of all tendencies" since trade unionists must now solve tasks requiring united action.

The congress will discuss the organization's program in the 1990's, impact of scientific-technological progress on the life of workers, changes in the trade union movement of East European countries and other problems.

Mozhayev also underlined the WFTU's cooperation with the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) whose delegate has been invited to the 12th WFTU Congress. Considerable reserves still exist in cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The World Federation of Trade Unions is one of the biggest international trade union centres, associating 93 trade union organizations with 214 million members from 80 countries. It was set up in 1945 and its seat is in Prague.

Malile Writes to Perez de Cuellar on Kosovo

AU0202195490 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Today Foreign Affairs Minister Reis Malile sent the following letter to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar;

Honorable Mr. Secretary General,

Permit me to draw your attention to the tragic events in Kosovo, in Yugoslavia, where the Armed Forces are using firearms, killing and injuring a large number of people, including women and children. This has caused profound indignation among the Albanian people.

I mentioned the grave situation in Kosovo in my speech to the 44th UN General Assembly. International opinion held hopes that Belgrade would adopt measures to stabilize the situation in the province. Unfortunately, however, the situation has become more exacerbated. This situation represents dangers not only for Yugoslavia and Kosovo, but also for the cause of peace and security in the region.

In accordance with the UN Charter, the UN has a duty to raise its voice and demand an end to the violence, the police terror, and the killing.

In our opinion, the solution to the problems of Kosovo can be achieved only through dialogue and respect for the rights of the Albanians and their equality among the other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Appreciating your known commitment to human rights and to the rights of minorities, as well as to international peace and security, we express our belief that you will not spare your noble efforts to ensure that justice and peaceful and democratic life be established in Kosovo.

I am asking, Mr Secretary General, that this letter be distributed to all member states as a UN document.

Alia Addresses Ninth Central Committee Plenum

AU0102231590 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 25 Jan 90 p 1, 2

["Excerpts" of speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia at the Ninth Party Central Committee in Tirana on 22 January: "Further Revolutionizing the Life of the Party and the Country—A Continual Duty"]

[Text] Comrades, today's meeting is in a way a continuation of the Eighth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee Plenum. We then raised for discussion a number of questions pertaining to the need to further revolutionize the life of the party and the country in order to better respond to the current stage of socialist construction. At today's meeting, we propose to change those questions, as well as others that may be raised by comrades, into decisions.

Allow me to present certain ideas which could be taken as a basis for discussion. Only four months have elapsed since the eighth plenum, but the international political situation has changed a lot.

Great changes have occurred in the countries of the East, in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bulgaria, and Romania. It is noticeable that these countries, while remaining members of the Warsaw Pact, are extending their links with the West, particularly with regard to economic relations, but also in political matters. They are establishing links with Western socialist and social democratic parties, are aiming to join the European union [bashkimi Evropian], and are strengthening their links with the EEC, the IMF, and other Western institutions.

Western countries are encouraging the political changes in East Europe. With their calls for free elections, political pluralism, and the creation of various parties and groups, they seek to destroy everything that might recall socialism. Bourgeois propaganda has called the socialist ideal an anachronism. Reaction seeks to present communism as a threatening specter, threatening not for the bourgeoisie, but for the people.

Events in East Europe have not been a surprise to us, in the general sense, Comrade Ramiz stated. What happened was precisely what our party and Comrade Enver had foreseen for decades, and which few in the outside world then believed. For over 30 years, ever since Khrushchev's emergence on the scene in the Soviet Union and the East European countries' acceptance of Khrushchevism, and later Brezhnevism, we have been talking about the restoration of capitalism and have considered the process of transformation into bourgeois societies to have been accomplished.

Nevertheless, there is something new in the current events. In Poland, the Communist Party is no longer in power. It is in opposition, while Solidarity has taken power. In the GDR, Honecker has gone and his place has been taken by an organization called the Democratic Forum. In Czechoslovakia, Husak has left and Dubcek has returned, and so on. All of these events have multifarious consequences, which require new ideological, political, and economic analyses and assessments.

The Soviet Union is not contesting the changes taking place in East Europe. On the contrary, it has inspired and encouraged them, regardless of the fact that in some cases, as in East Germany, they have gone out of control, or in other cases, as in Poland and Hungary, the hand of the Western bourgeoisie was perhaps more present.

However, the Soviet Union is not permitting these countries to enter into military or political alliances with the West—that is, to leave the Soviet sphere of influence, let alone to change into anti-Soviet bastions, into a sort of "cordon sanitaire," as was the case before World War II. This was also the main purpose of the Bush-Gorbachev meeting in Malta, where they agreed on this with each other.

In addition to a certain euphoria, these events have aroused some concern in the West. Some new political problems have emerged, such as the German problem and the question of the position of military alliances and economic unions. However, the problems arising out of the need to overcome the crisis that has gripped the countries of the East are no less worrying. Nevertheless, all the parties involved agree that these processes must be encouraged, because they generally favor capitalism.

After speaking about the nature of the changes occurring in the countries of the East, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to say:

What is striking and characteristic in these processes is that they enjoy the broad and even enthusiastic support of the masses.

It is natural to ask: How did this happen? How was it possible for the workers class, for the masses, to become protagonists and supporters of the restoration of capitalism? The sorry part of it is that the peoples in those countries considered the revisionist regime, its bureaucracy, violence, economic stagnation, technological backwardness, and so forth, to be a product of the socialist system and of Marxism-Leninism, which they are now rejecting.

It was reality itself which led the masses in the countries of the East into conflict with the state authority and its political personalities. The legitimacy of the socialist state was compromised and soiled by the hypocrisy of the cliques in power. Socialism, the communist parties, and the democratic values created in the East after World War II were not further developed and built upon. Economic development and social emancipation were not accompanied by any refinement of socialist democracy. The state not only failed to become the state "of all the people," but separated itself from the people and opposed them.

In its titanic struggle against revisionism, Comrade Ramiz went on to say, our party was right to concentrate its efforts on tearing away the masks of socialism, exposing these parties' "Marxist" speculations. The Albanian Communists understood and struggled with all their might, with all the means at their disposal, to ensure that people would understand the danger of compromising socialism and its revolutionary ideology and policy. However, the tragedy did take place. As communists and internationalists, as members of the international army of revolutionaries, we made our contribution many times over to prevent this tragedy. This must not lead us into complacency, however, in the same way that we must not rejoice in the fact that we foresaw everything and that we did say what we said.

What we must do now is to draw lessons from what has happened in the East. We must raise the question and seek its answer: How did revisionism arise? What were its objective and subjective causes, its delays, mistakes, and concessions?

We must also analyze developments that have taken place in the Soviet Union during a long period of building socialism in practice there.

Comrade Ramiz went on to say:

Comrade Enver identified a number of the defects in the Soviet system which led to the birth of revisionism. In our country, measures were adopted on the basis of his conclusions to revolutionize the party and the entire life of the country.

Now that many years have elapsed and things have settled down, and now that we have seen what weaknesses have been used by revisionism and what means it has used to achieve its designs, we can see the problems much more clearly. We can see what mechanisms would have served to strengthen socialism but were neglected.

In the Soviet Union, they understood, although not fully consciously, that the bureaucracy was growing too large and that it posed a great danger. However, in the Soviet Union they did not fight bureaucracy through its opposite—that is, by increasing the role of the masses and strengthening socialist democracy, but by strengthening and perfecting the administration through the establishment of legislative and disciplinary norms of party, state, and social activities, and through the growth of vertical centralism. It is not by chance that glasnost, or speculation with democracy, has currently become the revisionists' main weapon. A void exists, which Gorbachev and others have successfully exploited.

More or less the same thing occurred with liberalism. The Soviets fought liberalism, too, mainly with administrative measures. Liberalism has the characteristic of speculating with topical matters, with familiar shortcomings and weaknesses. It presents itself as providing modern solutions to problems, as being democratic and using new terminology, and so forth. However, in the Soviet Union, liberalism was opposed with dogma, instead of the confrontation of ideas and arguments, and with general principles, instead of actual solutions to the problems. This made it possible for individuals and groups, especially from the ranks of the intelligentsia, to abandon socialism and embrace all kinds of ideas marketed and propagated by the bourgeoisie. This is where the bourgeoisie found its dissidents, this is where the revisionist cliques found their social basis.

All these and other similar matters need to be discussed, so that we may preempt the unexpected, regardless of the great differences between our development and that of the Soviet Union and other countries of the East.

It is universally known that Socialist Albania separated its destiny from that of the Eastern bloc at the end of the sixties. We must add, however, that Albania had its own road even before that. In our country, the revolution was a profound one. The Communist Party of Albania itself was formed in Albania and by Albanians. Its leaders

learned the theory of socialism in the school of the National Liberation War and in the struggle for social emancipation.

As long as the socialist camp existed, our party valued its experience. However, in the process of socialist construction, our party bore in mind our country's special conditions, traditions, material and spiritual legacy, and our national psychology.

We say that the phenomena that took place in the East will not occur in Albania, not because external pressure and activity against us has diminished. What is of fundamental importance is that we enjoy a sound internal situation, that the authority that emerged from the war has remained the authority of the people, that the AWP keeps the initiative in its own hands, and that its policies are in unison with the will of the masses. The calls that are being made abroad for changes in our country and for a deviation from the road that we are following do not find support in our country and find no echo in the opinions and desires of the broad strata of the working people.

This is a great political victory for our party and people. However, without underestimating its value, we must increase our vigilance at all times. We said at the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum that various kinds of pressure would be exerted on our country. Time has fully vindicated this forecast. The foreign enemies, especially the Yugoslavs and Greek reactions, were the first to give the signal. They started a campaign of slanders and inventions against our country. Since it became independent 45 years ago, Albania has been the target of attacks and slanders, Comrade Ramiz said. They were started by various Western circles, which suffered a heavy blow when the people's revolution triumphed in our country and the treacherous and collaborationist organizations of the "Balli Kombetar" [non-communist resistance movement] and "Legaliteti" [supporter of King Zog], which included the major representatives of the exploiting classes, and on which the Anglo-Americans had set their hopes, were defeated. The campaign was continued by the Yugoslavs who, together with Western reaction, did their utmost, not only through slanders and propaganda, but also by dispatching armed bands, to overthrow the people's authority. Later on, in 1960, a new and savage attack was launched, this time from the Soviet Union. Khrushchev accused us of having "sold out to imperialism for 30 pieces of silver." And all this continues to the present day. In the past and at present the aim of the organizers of these anti-Albanian slanders and attacks has been to subjugate Albania, to rob it of its independence, to force it to change its positions in international relations, and to become a blind tool of others and march step with them.

It is certain that our enemies will dismally fail. We will defend our victories and the freedom and independence we have won with our blood as our most sacred cause, with determination, using every means, and without the slightest hesitation. Our people have chosen the road of their development themselves and are not beholden to anyone for this. Our people themselves, and no one else, know what needs to be done, when it is to be done, and how it is to be done to ensure that the process of socialist construction progresses all the time. In Albania, it is the Albanian people who are the masters. They and they alone are sovereign over their own destinies.

In this situation, said Comrade Ramiz, we must increase our vigilance everywhere. In addition, we must intensify our political and propaganda work, especially within the country, but also abroad. The comrades of the party committees and the propaganda sections, the press, radio, and television must think seriously about this because this task can be carried out neither with slogans and outdated arguments, nor with a formal and bureaucratic style.

Another important aspect of our work is to fulfill tasks in the economic field. This does not require words and pledges, but work—a lot of work from everyone. Plans related to the supply of the population with food and clothing must be fulfilled at all costs. Nothing stands in the way of abundant supplies of vegetables, milk, and meat. There is no justification for any of the shortages we see. We must implement determinedly the decisions that we have adopted. In fact, we should find ways and means of advancing them.

After speaking extensively about problems of the country's foreign policy and our state's stand toward some specific issues pertaining to current international relations, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed:

We pursue a policy of peace and friendly cooperation with others. This has been and will continue to be our line in the future. We have never wanted and do not want isolation. Isolation, or withdrawing within our shell as into a besieged fortress, has not and does not constitute our political line. That is what the enemies of Albania would like. Our stand to the outside world must therefore be an active one, in our relations and political cooperation, as well as in our cultural and economic ties. We are interested in peace and good-neighborliness in the Balkans, but we are also interested in the problems of Europe and in our relations with all those who may be willing to return the friendship that we offer them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to speak about the question of the revolutionization of the life of the party and of the country, which has always been at the center of our attention. The revolutionization of the party, he stressed, is essential to combat alien influences and manifestations, and to preserve the purity of the party and the people's authority.

We discussed these matters at the eighth AWP Central Committee plenum. We are returning to these plenum decisions for two reasons: First, to ensure their fast and complete enforcement in order not to leave a scope for bureaucracy, liberalism, apathy, and passivity, and second, because communists and working people have made various proposals and suggestions for additional

measures to make it possible to further increase the role of the masses and the broad and active participation of all the strata of the people in the country's socialist construction.

Strengthening the party, Comrade Ramiz said, must be our constant duty. The party is the leading force to which not only the present and the future of socialism, but the country's freedom and independence are tied.

In the countries of East Europe socialism was rejected under the slogan of liberation from the monopoly of communist parties; pluralism, the creation of many parties and organizations, was supposed to be the salvation.

The numerous parties in the East are based on the profound social and class differences that existed earlier, which were revived and deepened during the years when the revisionists were in power. Society in those countries divided into groups and strata and became polarized, giving rise to classes with different interests which could not objectively be accommodated and represented by a party that was not theirs. Now each of these groups demands its own share of power.

We have declared the hegemony of the AWP, aware that this is a basic condition for socialist construction which is also in harmony with our country's objective circumstances. If we examine this in a historical context and look at the past, we see that under Zog's regime political parties did not exist. Political parties and organizations were formed for the first time during the fascist occupation. The first party to be formed was the Communist Party of Albania, now known as the AWP. At its very inception, the party launched itself uncompromisingly into the struggle for a free, democratic, and popular Albania. Immediately after the founding of the party and as a reaction to it, the Balli Kombetar emerged, to be followed soon by Legaliteti. Both these organizations, which represented the rich classes and the supporters of the restoration of the monarchy, were unable to transform themselves into influential political parties, because they emerged, from their very first steps, as collaborationist parties which placed themselves openly in the service of the Italian and German fascist occupiers. In other words, they emerged as anti-national organizations. As such, they were not followed by the people. On the contrary, the Albanian people, the youth, the women, and all the working people, rural and urban, united around the Communist party in anti-fascist organizations like the National Liberation Front, the youth organization, the women's organization, and so forth. In this way, surviving the test of fire in the National Liberation War, our party gained the confidence and affection of the masses. This affection and confidence were forged afresh later in the great struggle for the construction of socialism and the defense of the country's freedom and independence.

Under the conditions of our country, the calls of the international bourgeoisie for party pluralism mean a revival of the Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti, or the creation of similar antisocialist and antinational political parties. This would not be a reflection of democracy, but a political means to weaken national unity and to create conditions to destroy socialism.

The absence of numerous parties, according to the bourgeois yardstick, is supposedly also a lack of democracy. This is not true. There have been no parties in our country, but there has been free discussion, and the solving of the problems of the people in a democratic way—at village meetings, assemblies, councils, and so forth—is an ancient tradition. Our party, which has been nurtured by the wisdom of the people, has raised this tradition to a much higher level. It has made the direct participation of the masses in drafting the plans for the country's economic and cultural development a method of its work. This is also done through various organizations and associations such as the Democratic Front, the Women's Union, the Youth Union, the trade unions, the veterans' organizations, the Union of Writers, the associations of scientists, and so forth.

Of course, we are not complacent about the existing situation. Deepening of the line of the masses, which constitutes the essence of our socialist democracy, must be at the center of our attention. In this context, the development of democracy within the party is a primary precondition.

Speaking further on these matters, Comrade Ramiz said:

In continuing the discussions we carried out at the eighth plenum, in what ways do we need to further revolutionize the party's work?

1. In order to tighten the party's links with the masses and revolutionize its internal life, I think the Central Committee should make compulsory the idea that Comrade Enver stressed several times—that meetings of party basic organizations should be open, except under very special circumstances. What does an "open meeting" mean? It means that the meeting's location and agenda are announced, and that not only some invited persons take part, but all interested working people of the relevant workplace.

By making meetings open, the activity and the decisions of basic organizations will be better in line with and under the control of the working masses, while communists will be more aware of the responsibility they have to the people. However, at the same time, they will have the support of the masses when they are in the vanguard of the implementation of the party's decisions. They will find themselves faced with the pressure and criticism of the masses if they are not able and do not set an example in everything. Open meetings will be a school not only for communists, but for the working masses, who will be even more closely tied to the party.

2. Decisions for the election and appointment of specialists and cadres should be further improved. Real conditions must be created to bring the most able and dedicated people into party and state organs, and to enable young, energetic, and knowledgeable people to reach responsible positions and elected offices.

This demands changes in the mentality and procedure of cadre appointments and administration. Valuable suggestions have been put forward during the discussion of the eighth plenum's decisions. I will mention some of them:

a) Apart from the case of those organs and cadres whose election is provided for in the Constitution, the party statutes, or social and economic organizations, the principle of election must be extended even further. For example, it must be made clear that directors of enterprises and factories of various kinds, heads of clinics, college departments, institutes, and various kinds of cadres, are only appointed when they have been considered extensively by working people of the organization concerned, and approved by them. Without obtaining this approval, no cadre must be appointed, regardless of which body has the appointment in its gift.

Thus, the role of the masses increases, and cadres will find themselves responsible only to the masses, and not to the organ that confirms their appointment. If this principle is accepted, it also inevitably implies that the collectives also have the right to dismiss from their jobs all those managers and cadres who do not perform their duties well, or who make no progress, something which was also stressed at the eighth plenum. As for the cadres of certain institutes, particularly those of culture, science, education, and others, as well as some other fields where appointments are necessary, not only elections but competition must be introduced as a way of stamping out mediocrity and cronyism.

b) By acting in this way, the number of cadres that are appointed by the party or state managing bodies can be reduced. Thus, for example, for such main cadres as deputy ministers and others of similar rank, district first secretaries and chairmen of executive committees, commandants and commissars of divisions and chiefs of branches of the internal affairs services, for directors of ministry departments, and the like, the approval of the party or state central bodies may be sought, while the approval of the district authorities should only be sought for the directors of enterprises and other main cadres at district level. Other cadres and specialists appointed by state, social, and economic organs or by the economies of work collectives should be chosen by the institutions where they work.

The idea is thus to have as few cadres as possible appointed directly from above. For all cadres who apply for election or in a competition, the approval of the relevant body will only be given after the results of the election of competition are announced.

The party, through its basic organizations, has the task of working and taking care that its rules are correctly enforced in this context.

c) There is also room for discussion of the question of the democratization of the electoral procedure in the party.

In general, our rule should be that managing cadres are elected by party forums, state organs, and mass organizations from within, that the deputy director or chief engineer assumes the place of managing director, and that managing directors should not circulate from one enterprise to another or that candidates should be sought among the districts to replace a principal in a ministry. Why are there so many heads of sections, office workers, and inspectors? If they are not worth promoting, why have they been appointed, and why do they remain in committees, sections, and management boards?

It was said at the eighth plenum that the period of office or of possible reelection of secretaries of basic organization bureaus should be limited to four to five years. The view has been expressed that a limited period of office should also be introduced in other offices and bodies—for instance, in the case of members of party committees and people's councils in the districts, deputies to the People's Assembly, members of the Central Committee, and so forth. Would this help strengthen internal democracy, increase the role of the masses, and fight against routine, bureaucracy, subjectivism, and other alien symptoms? If, for example, it were decided that in every legislature the elections for councillors and deputies, and those of every district party conference and congress, would compulsorily renew at least one-third of the people's council or district party committee, and one-third of the People's Assembly or the Central Committee, thus limiting the reelection of an individual to between two and three legislatures, would this not be a tangible enforcement of cadre turnover?

ch) [letter of Albanian alphabet] We have all seen the usefulness of the new election procedure for the people's councils which relies on the principle of having two or three candidates for one position. Should this procedure not be extended in some cases to the level of deputy to the People's Assembly, not only during the debate for the nomination of candidates, but also in the voting? Of course, there will be a spread in the voting. But what is wrong with that, when all the candidates are put forward by the Democratic Front?

Let us bear in mind what was said at the eighth plenum about unity and unanimity, that the two concepts must not be confused. Unity is not harmed by an exchange of views, or by the fact that voting is not unanimous for one candidate. It seems to me that we must abandon this complex.

3. The struggle against bureaucracy, as a condition for the strengthening of our socialist democracy, should be raised to a higher level. This struggle can be successfully carried out only by raising the role of the masses, which is the party's constant line. It is also the only medicine

against bureaucracy and other antisocialist symptoms. The times, and today's situation, cannot tolerate bureaucratic attitudes. They must be stopped, and the sooner the better. Let us do this, if the need arises, even with some sacrifice, because every stage of the revolutionization of the life of the party and country demands its own style and kind of people.

The party and Comrade Enver often stressed that the masses must feel themselves to be a creative factor of decisive importance at all times and under all circumstances of social activity. This is achieved if they join in the drafting and execution of plans, but finds full expression when the principle that the workers class takes the leading role in society is applied. An important factor to this end is the tightening of workers control, another revolutionary measure that hampers bureaucracy. It is the task of the party, and particularly of the trade unions, that this irreplaceable weapon in the struggle against bureaucracy, cronyism, embezzlement, arrogance, and various forms of injustice should acquire the necessary strength, and this can only be achieved if worker control is given omnipotent powers over everything everywhere, as was conceived when first introduced.

Power is in the hands of those who have the right to make decisions. There is no power without authority. If the workers class are only given the right to suggest and propose, it will be toppled from power. A range of prerogatives must therefore be shifted from the apparatus and the cadres' office to the collectives, the mass organizations, and collegial councils.

There is no need to repeat what was said at the eighth plenum, but I think that the struggle against bureaucracy must be unrelenting. It is therefore necessary for party and especially government bodies to review certain issues, giving more authority to the base, restricting centralized management where it is excessive, abandoning a tendency to centralize and standardize as much as possible, reducing office workers and staff, reducing the administrative apparatus, and so forth. A clear definition of the tasks of the apparatus is of particular importance, so that the role and function of elected bodies, as well as the balance between the election of communists and non-party people, are not violated.

4. The revolutionization of the country's life and the refining of our socialist democracy must be extended into the field of legislation, if it is to be fully enforced and carried through.

In this field, Comrade Ramiz said, the relevant bodies must study everything in our practice hitherto, and in this spirit must further improve our socialist legislation in accordance with our present level of development.

The Politburo, some while ago, recommended that the ministries should examine certain legal problems that have in practice emerged, such as the matter of legal defense in court procedures, and the question of defining precise conditions for the rehabilitation of offenders sentenced for certain kinds of crimes and penal offenses who, after serving their sentences, have been distinguished during a long period of time for correct social attitudes and behavior.

On this same topic of legislation, bearing in mind the expansion of state activity, there have been proposals to consider the need to recreate a Ministry of Justice, whose purpose would be to check the legitimacy of state acts. The idea has also been put forward of reviewing and improving the law on village and city district courts, so that they should become and act as social bodies, in other words removing their right to deliver sentences.

Comrade Ramiz went on to draw attention to the need for showing care for people, especially in their political assessment. It has been noticed, he said, that there have been cases where too much importance has been given to a person's family background.

The ideopolitical and moral attitudes of a person's family are important. But the character and personality of the individual himself are decisive. The kind of class struggle that hunts for an enemy mainly on the basis of a line of inheritance is schematic and bureaucratic.

Our general line, and the party's political and economic policy, Comrade Ramiz said later, have aimed at constructing a socialist society without the exploitation of man by man, an order that guarantees the homeland's independence, and which continually guarantees people's living standards, with results which are familiar. However, the developments that lie ahead confront us with the imperative need to invigorate further the motive power of our social system, above all by deepening the line of the masses and refining the mechanism of the economy.

The party's constant line has been and remains that the broad working masses in production and elsewhere should always be the main agents of management, and that their initiative and contribution should always be the decisive factor in devising and enforcing the correct policies which we follow in different fields. As masters of the country and of the destiny of socialism, the people simultaneously direct and act on directives. In whatever field, whether large or small, these two aspects of their exercise of power make up a unity. This is always a characteristic of socialist society. Hugger-mugger work, exaggerated centralism, and signs of formalism and routine hamper the progress of socialism.

In accordance with our present intensive stage of development, we must strengthen internal motivation and incentives in every workplace and production or service unit, in order to produce much as possible at least possible cost. However, in many cases and in practice, the two sides of the relationship between the individual or group and the state are considered in isolation, and nonfulfillments are laid at the door of the state, which nevertheless still bears the burden of investments, imports, and expenditure. The economic mechanism at present in force encourages consumption more than production.

In the phase of intensive development which now prevails throughout our economy, when quality, productivity, efficiency, and technical and scientific progress take priority, it becomes necessary to further refine the constituent elements of our economic mechanism. There must be no time lost in freeing our economy from obsolete features and from some borrowed, inefficient practices. Alongside this, it is necessary to repair various weaknesses and shortcomings which are noticeable, and so forth. Of course, this is a difficult matter. From our experience and the practice of others, we have learned what not to do, while profound study and thought is necessary in order to decide how we must take new steps forward.

In looking for refinements of the economic mechanism, we will not abandon either democratic centralism, socialist planning, or those social victories which are of vital importance to the people. Let us therefore not be daunted by the need for change. As was also said at the eighth plenum, we are building a new society in a constant spirit of quest, and it therefore can happen that we do not hit the target every time. However, fear of missing the target binds us hand and foot. This is not the style of our party, which has never hesitated to look for new solutions and ways of development in response to circumstances as they arise. Our party has been and remains innovative, because our very principles, those of Marxism-Leninism, are in essence outstanding for its creative spirit.

The party and state leadership gave instructions some time ago for the conduct of various research projects relating to the main fields of economic relations and their operation. These must be further pursued, but we can discuss at this Central Committee plenum the main guidelines and consider whether these are the roads we should follow.

An expansion of the planning competences of the base implies a qualitative transfer of authority of management from the center to the districts and from the districts to the enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions. The changes we introduced in agricultural planning must not be considered simply a matter of targets. It involves a new concept of the structure of production and of relations between the base and the center. Should we act in the same way in the case of the food industry, certain sectors of light industry, transportation, communal services and trade?

The base must be encouraged to create more appropriate forms of organization, in order to achieve the optimum concentration of production and efficiency. Where it is appropriate and beneficial, we can further subdivide enterprises and cooperatives and reorganize their sectors. The view exists that, where they are effective, other methods of organization can be introduced, such as work with mandatory tasks, work by contract, piece work, and so forth. Could this not lead to increased production and more services?

Every opportunity is available to increase the sphere of operation of economic methods and the use of material levers by abandoning administrative management methods, and by improving the scientific character of orders and directives from above, when necessary. The creation of economic opportunities, so that our enterprises will enjoy in reality those advantages provided by the economic laws of socialism, is intended to be a decisive step in this sphere.

In current practice, economic accountability in enterprises mainly means covering production expenditure with income from sales, while the state remains responsible for the needs of expanded reproduction, investment, and turnover assets, which are met by schemes for financing and subsidies. Managing enterprises with independent accounting methods can be perfected by using identical criteria in studying those activities financed from the enterprise's own income and those financed by the state budget. This means that incomes can be used to a greater extent where they are earned. Thus the interests of the collective will find expression in a material way. The main purpose is to reach a firm understanding that the decisive factor in the activity of an enterprise is the economic results it achieves, and its balance between incomes and internal expenditure.

Under these conditions, the question of state subsidies must be closely reexamined, because they are becoming a cushion for slovenly work, passivity, and stagnation. The view exists that subsidies must only be used in necessary cases, should be decided in a responsible way, and should not be imposed by unfavorable results due to ineffective expenditure by the enterprises.

The application of this concept of financing the economy recommended by research calls for certain improvements of the rules in the field of wages and prices. In the field of labor remuneration, the main point is that the wages of working people in the state sector of the economy should be decided not only on the basis of the fulfillment of norms in the specific workplace, as is the case today, but also on the basis of the final results of the factory or enterprise.

Wages can also be a powerful stimulus if they are treated segmentally. For example, we may change not the present wage rate, but the form of remuneration for plan overfulfillment, by stimulating those sectors in which we have greatest interest, such as oil, chrome, exports, and others. Thus, in general, we propose a review of the ratios between basic pay and bonuses, in favor of the latter.

In order to encourage agricultural production in all areas, researchers have proposed a review of procurement prices, with a tendency to raise them and to impose greater price differentials according to zone, also increasing the remittance to the state of the higher profits earned by the stronger cooperatives, especially the higher-type cooperatives, in which the state has made major non-returnable investments.

Changes in wholesale prices will reduce cases of unmerited profitability, illusions of efficiency, and redistribution which does not accord with our development priorities or social and class policy. This will create the possibility of creating economic relations that are based on genuine values and the real contributions of different branches and sectors of production. The desire to make politics out of every price and every form of economic relation militates against the internal laws of the economy.

Following an analysis of the system of procurement and wholesale prices, views have been expressed that the need may arise to make changes in some retail prices also. The party has taken the view and made efforts to ensure that these prices remain stable. This plenum can reconfirm that primary and necessary goods will continue to be sold at unchanging and guaranteed prices, while the prices of certain other nonprimary and necessary goods can change, making this a further factor in encouraging labor productivity and meeting demand better.

Anyway, Comrade Ramiz said later, all these major issues involving the finance and credit system, wages, and prices are under study. The task of this plenum is to express views and principles on the main issues, and to assess the political, economic, and social consequences that stem from them. Meanwhile, state and research bodies must accelerate their work and aim at solutions for recommendation.

The experience of socialist construction, especially in the eighties, the decade of progress which relied solely on our own economic resources, has shown that the initiative of the masses can be encouraged more in order to better fulfill the needs of the people. Thus we may encourage citizens to build more houses with their own funds in not only villages, but in agricultural enterprises, where labor can be organized within the cooperative. In towns and work centers far away from them, the repair and extension of existing private houses can be undertaken, as well as the construction of houses by individual citizens or by agreement among groups who will sign contracts with mutual obligations among themselves or with the state.

The mechanism of our economy will not be invigorated in the way we wish if the party and the whole of society fail to devote attention to the balance between supply and demand and production and consumption.

The real dependency of production and consumption on the market demands a careful use of our economic advantages, but also involves a struggle for efficiency and a significant increase in labor productivity. Means of production are necessary, and in our strategy they are in general developed faster than consumer goods. However, in the last analysis, means of production are necessary to increase the people's supply of consumer goods. The fewer production resources are required to produce each article for the consumer, the better it is for society.

Comrade Ramiz further stressed that increasing the supply of industrially produced foodstuffs is one of the main priorities in the 1990 plan.

Matching the purchasing power of the people with material products will at present and in the future demand an increase in our agriculture's production of food. Under these conditions, the stimulus of agricultural and livestock production must be considered a constant duty. We have taken some measures, but they must be extended. For instance, it must be recalled that the collective farms, the small herds and fields, must play a greater role in supplying the people. This by itself will create conditions to increase the cooperatives' production for the towns. There is insufficient incentive for the cooperatives to take their produce to town markets, where they are able to sell agricultural and animal products at prices they decide for themselves, distinct from state prices.

A few days ago, we made the decision that all cooperativist families, as well as farm families living in the countryside, should be given livestock to meet their needs for meat. It must not be forgotten that the peasantry have major opportunities to increase the production of dairy products, beans, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit. Therefore, alongside the struggle to consolidate and reinforce the small herds and fields, additional measures can be taken, such as those to solve the meat problem more quickly.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz said:

Dear comrades, the decisions which this Central Committee plenum will make will help to further strengthen the domestic situation and its stability, will lend impetus to socialist construction and the country's revolutionization, will forge the unity of the party and the people round it, and will further consolidate the achievements we have attained and the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of the homeland.

Further on Final Congressional Proceedings

AU0202144990 Sofia BTA in English
1336 GMT 2 Feb 90

["More People Included in Supreme Party Council"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—After the announcement of the results from the election of a Supreme Party Council there were turbulent discussions. The chairman of the session Andrey Lukanov made a surprising proposal that the congress should vote for an increase of the number of the Supreme Council members with the 22 nominees who have gathered more than 50 per cent of the votes plus one. Thus, the council members will consist of 153 out of the 158 candidates.

Lukanov grounded his proposal with the new statute as well as with another fact, according to which people from all ideological currents and platforms (even if it is necessary to increase the composition of the respective elected bodies), veterans of the party, as well as people who can be useful for the future solution of the country's vital socio-economic problems, should be justly represented in the party's leadership.

There was a strongly negative reaction to this proposal at first. Afterwards, however, after a number of well-grounded statements were made, the adherents of Lukanov's proposal prevailed. It was said that if the proposal is not accepted, there will be a great danger of fractioning in the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. "Let us bear in mind the unhappy experience of the communist parties in the other socialist countries," Aleksandur Lilov said.

It was also stressed that this resolution is decisive for the improvement of the party leadership with intellectual potential and for the success of the BCP in the forthcoming free elections.

The proposal was backed by Petur Mladenov, Dobri Dzhurov and many other delegates.

In the end the proposal to include 22 more members in the Supreme Party Council was accepted with a large majority.

The hall was chanting "Unity, Unity."

Between the members of the Supreme Party Council who were approved additionally there are three representatives of the Alternative Socialist Organization, a faction of the BCP; members of the former party leadership, Mincho Yovchev and Panteley Pachov; Vasil Mruchkov, vice State Council president; Georgi Grigorov, first secretary of the Sofia City Committee of the BCP; Stefan Ninov, mayor of Sofia; Nadya Asparukhova, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Generals in the Reserve Tsvyatko Anev and Lyuben Dinov, repressed in the past by Zhivkov's regime; the artist Svetlin Rusev, and other intellectuals.

Lilov Picked To Lead BCP Supreme Council

AU0202155190 Sofia BTA in English
1535 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—Mr Aleksandur Lilov was unanimously elected among several candidates as chairman of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council at the 14th Extraordinary Congress which the Bulgarian Communist Party ended here today.

The 57-year-old professor of philosophy and corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was a Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP between 1974 and 1983. He succeeds in the party's top job Mr Petur Mladenov, who will keep his position as president of the State Council until the free parliamentary elections, due to be held probably in May.

The congress sat in session uninterruptedly from yesterday, Thursday, until 0915 AM today.

Mr Yordan Zarchev, 60, D.Sc. and deputy director of the Institute of BCP History, was elected interim chairman coordinator of the newly formed Central Party Ethics Commission.

Mr Goran Ninov, 52, an economist and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Mikhaylovgrad Regional People's Council, was elected chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.

The BCP Supreme Council elected Mr Aleksandur Lilov, Mr Petur Mladenov, General Dobri Dzhurov and Mr Andrey Lukanov members of the presidium.

At its first meeting the BCP Supreme Council did not elect the two deputy chairmen and the secretary which the council has to have under the rules. The meeting will be resumed at 7 PM tonight.

At its last session the congress elected a commission to draft a BCP election platform which includes party activists, prominent intellectuals, representatives of ideological tendencies and platforms in the parties, including the Alternative Socialist Organization faction.

"The Bulgarian Communist Party should adopt the tactic of more businesslike work in order to regain confidence and to fulfill the hard tasks which it has to solve," Mr Aleksandur Lilov said.

He thanked the previous party leader Mr Petur Mladenov for his selfless work and for the political bravery displayed at the November 10, 1989, replacement of Todor Zhivkov.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov emphasized that the BCP Supreme Council held a vivid debate, a continuation of the congress debate, which was intended to form a party leadership commanding confidence, moral credibility and strong authority.

"It was a difficult task because of the need to comply with two considerations," the new party leader explained. After the resignation of the government, the BCP in its capacity as a ruling party should appoint its representatives in the future cabinet. Under the adopted policy line of party-state separation, it was decided that this separation principle should be implemented in the formation of the BCP Supreme Council, too. "We must decide which party cadres should get posts in a government which should prepare the elections and should help us win them," Mr Aleksandur Lilov said.

The other consideration is the need to renew the party leadership. "New people should be promoted to the party leadership, and new generations should be represented," Mr Aleksandur Lilov emphasized.

Lilov on 'Painful Process' Ahead

AU0202143990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] The news conference of Aleksandur Lilov and Andrey Lukanov, representatives of the leadership of the Supreme Party Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has been going on for more than one hour at Sofia's Moscow Park Hotel. Our colleagues from all parts of the world have been asking them many questions, which shows the exceptional interest in the Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communists. The questions were related to the course of the party, the cadre changes that will take place, and the members of the future government that will be proposed by the BCP.

I shall quote just a few words from the statement read by Aleksandur Lilov at the beginning of the news conference.

The 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress was an extraordinary congress not only because it took place ahead of schedule, but also because it was of exceptional importance in relieving the party of the legacy of the authoritarian regime. This is a continuous, difficult, and even painful process, Comrade Lilov said. The congress drew a sharp distinction between totalitarianism and the party's future. At the same time the party assumes its responsibility for the past. The congress was difficult. The problems we will have to resolve are equally difficult. The BCP can succeed only if it reorganizes itself. We would like to create a party of a new mold, and we are confident that we have the forces to achieve this, Comrade Aleksandur Lilov said.

The news conference is continuing; we shall keep you informed.

News Conference

AU0202191390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Minutes after the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party ended, representatives of the leadership of the Supreme Party Council answered questions from Bulgarian and foreign journalists. Before the news conference, Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Party Council, read a brief statement in which he assessed the congress:

[Begin Lilov recording] My opinion, as well as the opinion of my colleagues in the party leadership, is that this was a successful congress. It was successful because it produced a very competent and specific analysis of the present situation in our country under conditions of a serious economic, political, and moral crisis. This was also a serious analysis of the situation within the party itself, and it outlined the roads along which the party must advance if it wants to overcome the grave situation in which it finds itself and lead the masses toward restructuring society, a task we, as leading party, assumed.

The congress very carefully discussed and adopted the Manifesto with a very high degree of exigence and fresh thought, relieved of past dogmas. With this Manifesto our party addresses all Communists in the country and all Bulgarian citizens, and announces that it begins to restructure itself in order to ensure the restructuring of the Bulgarian society.

We positively assess this congress also because it adopted a very important document—the new BCP Statute—that relieves the party of the burdens of the obsolete principles and procedures and, indeed, creates real conditions of turning the party into an organization of a new type, namely, a new type of a Marxist party, based on the principle of democratism, and the activity of all its members. This is a party that will form its decisions through an open, free, and broad discussion within the party itself, will allow the existence of different ideological trends, including different associations, and simultaneously, a party that will ensure itself possibilities of existing as a strong, modern, and organized political formations through a new complex of democratic principles. [end recording]

This was Aleksandur Lilov's statement. Many questions asked at the news conference referred to the country's future government. Andrey Lukanov expressed the following opinion:

[Begin Lukanov recording] At the moment, it is hardly appropriate to discuss in detail the composition of the future government. This issue will be clarified in the next few days. However, if my personal opinion is solicited, I would say that today Bulgaria needs a strong and competent government. In this context I am not convinced that a government of technocrats or clerks can be a strong one. It could be competent, but it can hardly be strong. I think that this should be a government that relies on broad political and public support and is composed of highly competent and professionally trained figures. [end recording]

Further on News Conference

AU0202213790 Sofia BTA in English 2037 GMT 2 Feb 90

["Reformist Communists Have Future, New BCP Leader Believes"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—"The BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] emerges from its congress a modern and strong Marxist party of a new type," Mr Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BCP Supreme Council, told a news conference here today, his first as BCP leader. The new rules lay down guarantees for democracy as a fundamental party principle, he stressed. Merely 10 per cent of the members of the former Central Committee were elected to the BCP Supreme Council which includes the leaders of the Alternative Socialist Organisation faction and of the ideological tendencies and platforms Road to Europe, BCP Democratic Forum and Movement for Democratic Socialism. All generations and categories of the people are represented on the council, including a powerful brain trust of intellectuals.

Mr Lilov categorically dismissed the allegations that the election of governing bodies had been "manipulated." "The elections were fully democratic, with alternative tickets and a secret ballot, without the familiar nightmarish unanimity," he said. "The composition was extended by 22 members today precisely to have all reformists represented in the party leadership in strict compliance with the BCP rules."

Mr Lilov does not think that the composition of the BCP Supreme Council can be described as a "compromise between reformists and hard-liners." He pointed out, however, that the council reflects the actual correlation of forces within the party and expressed the conviction that the future belongs to the reformists.

The news conference was attended by Mr Andrey Lukanov, member of the Presidium of the BCP Supreme Council, who confirmed that free general elections should be held in May. "A new parliament is needed to form a strong and competent national consensus government, including representatives of all political forces which are concerned about Bulgaria's getting out of its political, economic and moral crisis," he said.

Mr Andrey Lukanov called on all political forces to place national interests before party ones and to participate now in the formation of a broadly representative caretaker government to prepare the free elections and to implement an anti-crisis programme.

"Former Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov takes special credit in the ouster of Todor Zhivkov," Mr Andrey Lukanov pointed out. Asked whether he himself would head the new Cabinet, Mr Lukanov replied that the National Assembly alone can appoint the head of the new government.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov explained that the party is firmly committed to the policy line of separating its functions from the state, no matter how difficult it is in practice. This is precisely why the BCP Supreme Council Presidium has not yet been entirely elected. After tomorrow's session of the National Assembly it will be decided which functionaries will enter the party leadership and which will get Cabinet appointments.

Mr Lilov said that the BCP will maintain close contacts with the parties in the East European countries "where similar processes are taking place" and will cooperate with the USSR. Bulgaria will keep its membership in the Warsaw Treaty which guarantees its security. This country will be seeking good-neighbour relations with all Balkan states. Bulgaria will open up still more widely to Europe because it wants to share in the construction of the common European home. "We expect support from the European countries for tackling our economic and technological problems," Mr Lilov said.

The new BCP leader denied having maintained "particularly close contacts" with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev over the last few years. He described the Soviet leader as "one of the greatest political figures of the modern world."

Presidium Members Elected

AU0302090190 Sofia BTA in English 2249 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—Late this evening the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party elected a Presidium comprising: Mr Aleksandur Strezov and Mr Georgi Pirinski (deputy chairmen), Mr Rumen Serbezov (secretary), and Mr Andrey Lukanov, Mr Vasil Nedev, General Dobri Dzhurov, Mr Ivan Stanev, Mr Yordan Radichkov, Ms Nadya Asparukhova, Mr Nenko Temelkov, Mr Petur Mladenov, Mr Petur-Emil Mitev, Ms Petya Yordanova, Ms Stanka Krustenova, Mr Filip Bokov and Mr Chavdar Kyuranov (members).

As reported earlier, Mr Aleksandur Lilov was elected chairman.

Biography of Aleksandur Lilov Released

AU0202144890 Sofia BTA in English 1343 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Aleksandur Vasilev Lilov was born on 31 August, 1933, in the village of Granichak, near the town of Vidin. Holder of a university degree in Bulgarian language and literature. Ph. D., and Dr. Sc., Professor, corresponding member at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

He joined the Workers' Youth Union in 1947 and the BCP in May, 1954.

He was an activist of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL) from 1951. Head of the district committee, instructor at the DYCL County Committee in Vratsa, first secretary of the District Committee of the DYCL in Belogradchik and first secretary of the DYCL County Committee in Vidin. From 1960 he was head of department, and from 1963 secretary, of the CC [Central

Committee] of the Dimitrov Young Communist League. Did postgraduate work in literature and art at the Academy of Social Sciences at the CC of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. After that worked as deputy head of the Propaganda Department and head of the Arts and Culture Department at the CC of the BCP.

Elected alternate member of the CC of the BCP at the Tenth Party Congress (1971), and at the July 1972 plenum—member of the CC of the BCP and secretary of the CC of the BCP. Member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP from July 1974. At a plenum of the CC held on September 28, 1983, he was dismissed as Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP. In the period between October, 1983, till December 8, 1989, was director of the Institute for Modern Social Theories.

At a plenum of the CC of the BCP on December 8, 1989, he was elected member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP.

He was an M.P. in the composition of the Fourth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth National Assembly and member of the State Council.

Assembly Opens; Atanasov Resignation Read

AU0302094190

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0900 GMT on 3 February carries a 5-minute live relay from the National Assembly Hall in Sofia of the National Assembly session. Reporter Iliyana Yancheva reports that "at this, Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, opens the National Assembly session." Afterward, Stanko Todorov says the following:

"Esteemed members of the National Assembly, I propose the following agenda of this session to your attention:

"1. Reviewing the letter of the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the resignation of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"2. Electing a new chairman of the Council of Ministers."

The agenda is accepted without any objections or additional proposals, and Stanko Todorov says:

"I shall now read to you the letter of Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, addressed to the chairman of the National Assembly:

"Esteemed comrade chairman,

"After 10 November 1990, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] adopted a fundamentally new political course. Within a brief period of time, many measures were adopted and implemented. Their essence was the construction of the democratic socialist society in Bulgaria. Those are processes that mark the beginning of a new development of our social life and its progress in line with the universal economic and political values and the achievements of modern civilization.

"The process of democratization prompted the anticipated political upsurge. Active political pluralism was created within a brief period of time. The advance toward a parliamentary system of government undoubtedly is an exceptionally important factor in dismantling the authoritarian political regime of political power that existed until now.

"The crisis of the national economy, and the urgent actions required by this crisis, are the second essentially important factor at the present situation.

"Against the background of those factors, the policy that will be adopted can produce positive results if it is based on the consensus of the basic political forces interested in restructuring.

"At the present complex moment of the country's development, this will allow the working out and adoption of a radical political reform and a plan on overcoming the crisis.

"On 29 January 1990 at the roundtable session, the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] announced a proposal on forming a coalition government. Taking into consideration the fact that this idea was expressed by the BCP Central Committee at the end of December 1989, and was comprehensively developed in the BCP Central Committee political report to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress, it can be accepted that proper political conditions of creating a government on a broad social basis, with the participation of all significant sociopolitical forces interested in rapidly overcoming the crisis, already exist.

"I wish to facilitate the efforts of the National Assembly to resolve this task, and therefore I submit the resignation of the government.

"1 February, 1990, Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

Afterward, Stanko Todorov asks the members of the National Assembly whether somebody would like to take a stand on the letter, after which reporter Yancheva says: "Dear listeners, the debate will begin now. We shall inform you about its progress in our newscasts." The live relay ends at 0905 GMT.

Lukanov Elected Chairman

AU0302094690

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0931 GMT on 3 February interrupts its regularly scheduled program for the following announcement:

"I hasten to report that a short while ago the National Assembly members unanimously elected Andrey Karlov Lukanov chairman of the Council of Ministers. At the moment he is speaking."

Afterward Andrey Lukanov is heard saying the following:

"The support of the National Assembly and all people's deputies, and the parliamentary groups will be of special importance for the government. We will rely on this support. I would like to express from this rostrum the hope that the other social forces will demonstrate wisdom and a feeling of common responsibility to the nation, as required by the situation, and will demonstrate a positive attitude toward the idea of forming a coalition government on a broad social basis."

Afterward, Lukanov's voice fades and the reporter announces that "further information will be provided in the newscasts."

Assembly Session Ends

AU0302104890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Our reporter Iliana Yancheva reports from the National Assembly:

[Begin Yancheva recording] The National Assembly session ended a short while ago. The agenda included two items. [passage omitted]

The National Assembly members relieved Georgi Atanasov of the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers and accepted the resignation of the entire government; however, according to parliamentary practice, it was instructed to continue its functions until a new Cabinet is formed.

The parliamentary groups of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union nominated Andrey Lukanov for the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers. During the discussion of the candidacy, Kosta Andreev expressed the opinion of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Union. He said that the grave crisis requires a strong and competent government. Since we know Andrey Lukanov's qualities, we think that he will be a premier worthy of the present difficult period.

Academician Blagovest Sendov supported the candidacy of Andrey Lukanov despite the fact that, as he said, Andrey Lukanov also is a member of the leadership of the Supreme Party Council. Under those circumstances and the situation that exists in our country, it would be very difficult to form a broad national coalition. The government could be a very strong organ, however, this is not its best quality. It must be, first of all, a people's government and be concerned with the interests of the people.

Vasil Nedev, National Assembly member, pointed out the necessity of accelerating the work on preparing the Law on Ownership. Georgi Karamanev stressed that the election of Andrey Lukanov as chairman of the Council of Ministers will evoke a positive reaction both in our country and abroad.

Yordanka Yovcheva expressed certain considerations about the basic tasks of the new government.

Andrey Lukanov was unanimously elected chairman of the Council of Ministers, and he was instructed to form the new Cabinet. [end recording]

Lukanov's Acceptance Speech

AU0302111790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Acceptance speech by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council Presidium, at the National Assembly session at which he was elected chairman of the Council of Ministers; in Sofia on 3 February—recorded]

[Text] First of all, I would like to express cordial gratitude for electing me to the distinguished post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

With the present situation and against the background of the political, economic, and moral crisis that the country experiences, the government, as the supreme executive organ, will have an exceptionally grave responsibility. I accept the post you entrust in my hands with a keen sense of responsibility and the passionate desire to justify, together with my colleagues in the new government, the hope with which our public views the activities of the Council of Ministers at the present pessimistic moment in our history.

I would like to declare that the new government will steadily adhere to the line of democratization and constructing the law- governed and democratic state. This is the line my party began on 10 November 1989. Regardless of the sharp discussions and sociopolitical differences, the fundamental characteristics of this line are shared today by the entire Bulgarian society.

The socioeconomic crisis is now central to the Bulgarian society's emotions and concerns. I think that overcoming the crisis is the most pressing task of the new government. Within an extremely brief period of time, within February 1990, we must present to you an anti-crisis program that must contain appropriate measures of ensuring social justice and protection of the interests of all Bulgarian citizens, and all our working people.

Simultaneously, I am convinced that the government must present the basic trends of the fundamental economic reform that we must prepare and implement at a later stage, however, without any delay. I think that we will be able to present the membership of the new government and a declaration on our basic intentions in the socioeconomic sphere on 8 February, when the present National Assembly session continues. On 28 February, when a regular session of the National Assembly begins, we will present a developed anti-crisis program.

I think that we all are aware of the importance of national consensus and social tranquility and peace as a decisive preconditions for stabilizing the social situation and implementing the socioeconomic program. Without receiving such support, we would not be able to fulfill your expectations, as well as the expectations of the people.

The support of the National Assembly and all people's deputies, and the parliamentary groups, will be of special importance for the government. We shall rely on this support. I would like to express from this rostrum the hope that the other social forces will demonstrate wisdom and a feeling of common responsibility to the nation, as required by the situation, and will demonstrate a positive attitude toward the idea of forming a coalition government on a broad social basis.

Without entering now into a dispute with my esteemed friend, Academician Sendov, I would like to note that according to my understanding, the new government must be a government of the entire nation. It does not have the task of implementing and asserting the opinions and preferences of a single party. With its composition and decision, it must strive to implement a line of real pluralism in the political, economic, and intellectual spheres. This also applies to the problems of ownership.

I will err against my conscience if I do not thank my predecessor, with whom we worked together several years in the Bulgarian Government. I wish him good health and successes.

With a deep sense of responsibility to you and the people, I again thank you for your high confidence. [applause]

Further on Lukanov Election

AU0302141590 Sofia BTA in English 1403 GMT 3 Feb 90

["Bulgaria Has a New State Leader"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, known for his huge experience in the field of economics, was elected chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria at today's session of the National Assembly.

On opening the session, Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, read the letter of the former state leader, Mr Georgi Atanasov. [passage omitted]

The resignation of Mr Georgi Atanasov and the government was accepted unanimously. After that Mr Stanko Todorov announced that the parliamentary groups of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] nominate Mr Andrey Lukanov for chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Mr Andrey Lukanov's nomination was backed up by the representative of the leadership of the Bulgarian Independent Trade Unions, Mr Kosta Andreev. He said that this it is a good decision, having in mind the present worsening socioeconomic situation in the country. The new government should be a strong one, enjoying support on a broad political basis.

Mr Kosta Andreev stressed that Mr Andrey Lukanov is one of the most popular leaders in the country and that his is a popularity won under the conditions of competition-based political fight.

Academician Blagovest Sendov, a nonparty-member M.P., also pointed out that this is a felicitous choice. It shows that the Communist Party plans the disposition of its cadres well. On the other hand, he said, Andrey Lukanov is a member of the Presidium of the BCP Supreme Council, which will create difficulties in forming a government on a broad national basis; it can be strong, but it should also be a government of the people, the Bulgarian scientist stated.

Without promoting private initiative, Bulgaria will not become part of Europe, Academician Sendov said. Now we should back up private initiative in agriculture, trade and industry; the declarations made to this effect cannot be taken on trust, he went on to say. In this connection he made a motion to set up a parliamentary commission which will engage in working on the problems of private initiative.

M.P. Vasil Nedev did not back up Academician Sendov's motion, basing himself on the fact that the National Assembly will state its attitude to the question raised through the Law on Ownership.

Another M.P. focused attention on the positive international response which the election of Andrey Lukanov to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers will be met with.

Mr Lukanov's nomination was put to the vote and he became the new prime minister of the country with an absolute majority.

After his election Mr Andrey Lukanov delivered a short speech. [passage omitted]

The session suspended its work, which will be resumed on February 8, 1990.

Serbezov Elected to Post

AU0302161890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] At a meeting held today, the Parliamentary Group of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] relieved Andrey Lukanov from the post of chairman of the BCP Parliamentary Group, and elected Rumen Serbezov to replace him.

Biography of Andrey Lukanov Released

AU0302114990 Sofia BTA in English
1052 GMT 3 Feb 90

["Andrey Karlov Lukanov Chairman of the Council of Ministers"—unattributed report]

[Text] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—Andrey Karlov Lukanov was born to the family of revolutionaries in Moscow, the USSR, on September 26, 1938. He joined the Dimitrov Young Communist League in 1957 and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in 1966. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

1963—Staff member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

1966—Head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Trade;

1969-1972—Staff member of the permanent mission of Bulgaria to the UN Office in Geneva;

1972—Deputy minister of foreign trade;

1973—First deputy minister of foreign trade;

1976—Deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation with the Council of Ministers;

Permanent representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Moscow;

June 1986-August 1987—First deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria;

Minister of foreign economic relations

At the 11th BCP Congress he was elected alternate member and at the December 1977 Plenum of the Central Committee he was elected full member of the BCP Central Committee. The 12th and the 13th BCP Congresses elected him Central Committee member.

July 1979 —alternate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee;

At the plenum held on November 16, 1989 he was elected member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee;

Elected people's deputy (member of Parliament) in the Seventh, the Eighth and the Ninth National Assembly;

Elected member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the BCP at the recently completed 14th Congress of the BCP.

Opposition Leader Beron on Government Changes

AU0302183090 Sofia BTA in English
1731 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—It was the best acceptable choice for the Communist Party and not the worst for us, said Petur Beron, the eminent activist of the opposition from Ecoglasnost, commenting on Andrey Lukanov's election to the post of prime minister.

He pointed out that the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) will not respond to the invitation to form a coalition, because all the power is still in the hands of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and all decisions are still made by the Supreme Council of the BCP.

The only thing that can justify this situation is the fact that in the period of transition the country needs stability, Petur Beron said. Otherwise it may plunge into a state of certain chaos.

But the preparation for changes in the National Assembly and the political system should go full steam ahead, he went on to say. The people can hardly be expected to remain indifferent to what is happening now and if the conditions are ensured for the people's expressing its will in the elections by giving it the respective guarantees, it is probable that at last we will have a parliament the decisions of which will be respected by the people. It will be an assembly of personalities who have their own stands and who will be able to express both their stands and the position of their electorate.

I hope that before the end of this year we will have an assembly of this kind, Petur Beron said. It will appoint a government which will have authority with the people. Whatever decisions it may adopt, they will be accepted by the people.

At the moment we are engaged in forming a Cabinet of the opposition, announced the representative of the UDF. It may not include the present prominent activists of the union, many of whom have great civic merits, but do not have proper training to occupy the concrete posts. Other followers with good training, unblemished reputation and high civic morality are also sought for.

We have not made a final decision what kind of elections we will take part in in May, Petur Beron said. It is not yet clear what type of parliament will be elected; it may be different. This question should be discussed at the roundtable talks and an agreement should be reached on how to hold the elections and what kind they should be. We do not want to state our final position before that, he underlined.

Petur Beron said that in the present situation the UDF could not expect to win the elections by more than 50 per cent of the vote. According to him the opposition can win 30 to 40 per cent of the vote, which is a serious percentage of the M.P.'s in the National Assembly. In

this situation the UDF can take part in adopting decisions and influence legislation which will encourage those who believe in the changes. At the same time the Communist Party remains a serious force and it may also receive a rather big percentage of the vote.

Besides, Petur Beron pointed out, the possible merger of the two agrarian parties may result in an entirely new proportion of forces which is too early to foresee.

Prosecutor's Office Says Zhivkov Hospitalized

AU0202193490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] The Chief Prosecutor's Office has just informed the mass media that the detainee Todor Khristov Zhivkov, against whom a preliminary investigation is in progress, is in prison on remand on the orders of the Chief Investigation Administration.

In view of his age and of problems with the state of his health, medical experts are periodically called in to give their opinion on the conditions under which he may be detained in prison.

On 2 February 1990, on the basis of the opinion of the examining doctor concerning with the conditions in which Todor Khristov Zhivkov may be detained, he was transferred to a hospital, where he remains under arrest and constant medical observation.

In the meantime, the necessary investigations continue to be carried out.

The chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has made official requests for assistance to the competent organs of a number of West European states, asking them to carry out checks to ascertain whether any deposits of foreign currency or valuables exist in their countries' banks in the name of Todor Zhivkov or his relatives. If the existence of such deposits is established, a request has been made to the same organs to temporarily freeze the deposits until the court has announced its verdict.

Zhivkov Shown on TV

AU0202213990 Sofia BTA in English 2101 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 2 (BTA)—Today the ousted dictator Todor Zhivkov appeared for the first time on Bulgarian Television since November 10, 1989.

The announcement of the Prosecutor General's Office on Zhivkov's health condition was read against the background of footage showing him on his way out of his cell for medical tests.

Zhivkov was escorted by two guards but walked unaided and looked well.

'Rummaged in Police Archives'

AU2601130490 Sofia BTA in English 1047 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Todor Zhivkov Rummaged in Police Archives"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—The former party leader and head of state Todor Zhivkov was one of the first to enter the Police Directorate after September 9, 1944, to rummage in the police archives and to take away files, Mr Rusi Khristozov, the first director of Administration at the Ministry of the Interior after the Ninth of September, says in memoirs carried in today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT.

The author writes that a long-standing BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] functionary has told him he suspected that Zhivkov was a police agent provocateur. After a major crackdown on the Sofia District Committee of the BCP, a lot of people were arrested and tried while the future secretary general was released. His associates isolated him from party work, although he himself told an entirely different story in his biography.

Party matters were a no-go area for State Security and the police before 1949 when Stalin ruled that Traycho Kostov was an enemy. Stalin feared that Bulgaria might break with the USSR like Yugoslavia and that is why he sent in an entire KGB division. Files were kept on all Politburo members and government ministers. A special team of KGB men arrived to handle the Traycho Kostov case, the author writes in conclusion.

Journalists Union Congressional Proceedings

AU2901075390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] The second day of the Bulgarian Journalists' Union Ninth Congress held at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture proceeded with statements of delegates on the future of the union, on basic issues of the journalists' creative activities, and on freedom of expression for the mass media.

In the afternoon, the congress entered its busiest phase, namely the phase of debates on the reports of the established commissions. Veselin Yosifov and Boyan Traykov, former chairmen of the Bulgarian Journalists' Union, were expelled from the ranks of the union on the basis of a general vote [s obshto glasuvane]. The congress approved a declaration on a question asked by Nayden Iliev, a journalist from the STURSHEL Magazine, in connection with accusations addressed against him at the last National Assembly Session. The declaration points out that criticism voiced from such a high-ranking forum should be taken seriously, considering that it incites public opinion against journalism and makes the impression of an attempt to consolidate the positions of the nomenklatura against the mass media.

The delegates further discussed issues related to journalists' rights, to the adoption of a law for their protection, and for granting fully equal rights to union members, including the right of access to all sources of information available to the Journalists' Union so that they may objectively report on all domestic and worldwide events.

With an overwhelming majority, the delegates at the congress voted in favor of keeping the name Union of Bulgarian Journalists.

Debates on the statute of the organization are currently under way. We are expecting the election of leading organs to take place later this evening.

Prodev Elected President

AU2901150990 Sofia BTA in English 1322 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—Mr Stefan Prodev, 62, a journalist and writer, was elected president of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists early this morning.

The delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the union said they rejected the previous political dictate on the work of the union and see the beginning of a completely different organization which preserves the democratic and progressive traditions of Bulgarian journalism. The new union, which keeps its name, declared itself absolutely independent of the state, the political parties and organizations. "The union is only barred from servicing untruth and interests alien to the people of Bulgaria," says the congress resolution.

The resolution points out that the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] branches in the union and its publications will be disbanded and political parties will not be allowed to set up organisations there.

The congress expelled from the Union of Journalists its former presidents Mr Veselin Yosifov, now editor-in-chief of the ANTENI weekly, and Mr Boyan Traykov, now director general of the BTA, for "actions incompatible with journalist ethics."

According to the new interim statute adopted by the congress, the union will be built as a trade-union and creative organisation with markedly syndicalist functions on a federative basis. "We see the future of our development as an open community for the self-organisation and self-determination of journalists associations, clubs and other formations," the resolution says.

The resolution urges that the National Assembly take over control of the Bulgarian News Agency (BTA), the television and radio. It also insists that in future publishers consult the journalists staff when they appoint media chiefs.

There is a categorical demand to end the state monopoly on the allocation of newsprint, on printing offices and photocopying and duplicating equipment, and that press runs be determined by readers' demand.

The congress assigned the new leadership to submit to the National Assembly basic provisions for a freedom of information bill.

The Union of Journalists' congress was the first public event on that scale since the November 10, 1989, ouster of Todor Zhivkov's regime. It was essentially the first congress which that organisation has held in conditions of democracy in the last forty years. The sittings were understandably stormy, the debates were acrimonious, and confrontations sometimes broke the limits of good manners. Yesterday's session lasted for over 20 hours and the documents were voted at 4 am this morning.

Mr Stefan Prodev, who won a six-candidate secret-ballot election for president, undoubtedly enjoys the highest respect in the journalist community now. He started contributing to the press back in 1942 at the age of 15. He has worked for a number of newspapers and magazines as reporter and editor. Between 1965 and 1979 he was editor-in-chief of PARALELI, a BTA weekly magazine, and after that he was editor-in-chief of the SOFIA magazine and of the NARODNA KULTURA weekly newspaper. In November 1988, when the Zhivkov regime clamped down on free-thinking Bulgarian intellectuals, Mr Prodev was fired from NARODNA KULTURA despite the protests of the staff. One month ago he was restored to his job as editor-in-chief of the weekly and declared its independence. He is an essayist who skillfully combines fact with fiction. He has written five books of essays, "Fred or the Spring" (a biographical novel about the youth of Friedrich Engels) and "Travelling in Pyjamas," a collection of short stories about the Vietnam War.

Mr Evgeni Stanchev was elected by secret ballot as editor-in-chief of POGLED, a popular weekly published by the Union of Bulgarian Journalists. Until a year ago Mr Stanchev was deputy editor-in-chief of POGLED and in the intervening period he worked as editor of the SOFIA NEWS weekly, a publication of the SOFIA PRESS AGENCY.

The first round of voting failed to produce a definitive choice for secretary general of the union and for editor-in-chief of the BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST magazine. It was resolved that the delegates should convene for another round of voting in a month's time.

Chiprovtsi Miners Declare Solidarity Strike

AU3101124690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] Chiprovtsi, 27 January (oblast correspondent Neofit Petkov)—The miners of the Chiprovtsi Company declared a strike today to mark their solidarity with the miners of the Gorubso-Madan Company. At a rally held in front of the company's administrative building, they announced their demands: retirement at 45, 7.5 years of

working underground in an environment exposing them to the danger of silicosis, and 10.5 years of work underground in order to obtain the maximum pension levels. Surface workers are to have their jobs classified as Grade 2, while workers in the crushing division of the enrichment plant are to have their jobs classified as Grade 1. Ivan Borisov, Hero of Socialist Labor, is the chairman of the strike committee.

New Envoy Klimova Describes Mission in U.S.

LD0202224890 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 2 (CTK)—"Czechoslovakia is very popular in the United States at present. Our task will be to use this wave of interest to the full," new Czechoslovak Ambassador to the United States Rita Klimova told CTK today a few days before leaving for Washington.

She said that the Americans have been deeply interested in the course of the velvet revolution in Czechoslovakia, but "as regards the assistance, we will not ask for gifts. Our grave economic problems cannot be solved by money - what must be changed at first is the behaviour of enterprises. The investments should flow to Czechoslovakia on the basis of usual commercial principles, not as charitable gifts. Nevertheless, we shall ask for help in education and culture. There is a critical shortage of English teachers at all levels, exceeds supply, our average knowledge of English is catastrophic," Rita Klimova said.

She added in this connection she wants to ask the U.S. side for opening book shops in Prague and other big Czechoslovak cities where books and magazines in English would be available for Czechoslovak crowns, as well as American dailies.

Speaking about cooperation with the Americans of Czech origin, Rita Klimova said that they maintain relations with Czechoslovakia "and we would definitely like to discuss forms of their help." The improvement of contacts with the United States can in no case be only a matter of the embassy. "We need the people to look for contacts themselves and not to wait till somebody arranges it," she underlined.

The new Czechoslovak ambassador also spoke about her relation to Vaclav Havel: "I have always considered him a wise man, as it was him who had always succeeded in overcoming all differences in opinions which appeared in the Charter 77 associating a broad spectrum of people—from conservative Catholics to left-wing orientated Trockists. He was also the guarantee of consensus in the Civic Forum—we would have hardly united without him. He has always been frank, ready to listen to all sides," Rita Klimova underlined.

E. Bohemia Prepares for USSR Troop Withdrawal

LD3101211190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The first step in preparation for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia was made in East Bohemia today. Editor Vaclav Martinik reports:

[Martinik] The district national committee in Trutnov, political parties, and civic initiatives have decided to wait no longer and to prepare the locations used since 1968 by Soviet troops to be handed over to those to whom they belong, primarily forestry workers and housing economy enterprises. Although the principled viewpoint will be known only after the president's visit to the USSR, the commissions began working in the Trutnov area today. They have several days to discover the state of the locations in Trutnov, Volanov, Mustek, and Hostinne, and to decide on further progress. According to the agreement, the Soviet units should put them in order. That is why, as early as Tuesday [6 February] a coordination commission will meet in Trutnov to agree on further progress. Our representatives are pleased so far and believe that the Soviet command will fulfill its promises and meet the deadlines.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Issues Surveyed

LD0402135790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 4 Feb 90

["Sunday Foreign Policy Comment" by Vera Stovickova-Heroldova, former Czechoslovak Radio editor]

[Excerpts] This week we begin the conclusive talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory. Developments have headed logically towards this conclusion since the moment the Soviet Union officially admitted that the entry of the five Warsaw Pact countries' armies into Czechoslovakia did not represent help, even less fraternal assistance.

It is generally known that, during the first round of talks in Prague, our delegation put forward a plan of withdrawal worked out in detail, including possible deadlines. Military and other experts—for example railwaymen—prepared tables that clearly indicated that the deadlines we were suggesting were realistic. All 73,000 Soviet soldiers, their families, and most of their military technical equipment are to be transported by trains to spare our roads.

We demand that 60 percent of the soldiers leave before the elections, more by 15 May, and the rest before the end of the year. According to our tables, it would be technically possible to advance these deadlines and speed up the withdrawal. Nevertheless, while the government wishes to behave properly toward the Soviet side, it intends to forcefully defend our citizens' interests and avoid complications.

The Soviet side has made it clear on different occasions that it considers the deadlines tight. According to Radio Moscow reports, the military weekly KRASNAYA ZVEZDA wrote something which essentially meant that we are in too much of a hurry since the threat—to be understood as the danger against which the armies arrived to defend us—has not yet disappeared.

Nevertheless, in fact both we and they know very well that the Soviet Army did not arrive suddenly in the middle of the night to defend us against an external

threat, and that the agreement on its temporary stay—which was imposed on us and is therefore invalid—left the Soviet Army to keep order, to avoid the unpopular expression: the occupation army.

The argument about the threat, which is still real, is remarkable for yet another reason: The situation in Europe is better than at any time since World War II. [passage omitted]

As was stated earlier, the Soviet troops on our territory are not a part of the framework of European security and balance and therefore should not be counted as a part of the contingent of Soviet troops placed in Europe. Nevertheless, it seems that our bilateral talks on their withdrawal have an interesting influence on the conventional armed forces reductions talks in Vienna. [passage omitted]

Our representatives have attempted to explain to the Soviet representatives that, given all these circumstances, it is hardly suprising that our citizens are impatient, especially those who are affected by the Army's presence in their towns and villages. Meetings and talks between citizens' representatives and Soviet commanders are being held. Their results vary. It seems that some Soviet commanders wish to meet citizens' demands, some restrict moves of military technical equipment, and some concentrate the program of their exercises on withdrawal training. Others show by their negative attitudes that they do not understand the depth of the changes which have taken place.

Nevertheless, I think that we should keep our justified demonstrations within the limits of a dignified civic protest. If somebody wants to knock down a statue of Lenin in the course of the demonstrations, then I ask: In whose interest is it? Is it really in our interest? Or is it in the interest of somebody who wants, through provocation, to provide the other side with arguments? We do not knock down statues! Let us remember the promise we made to ourselves: We are not like them. [passage omitted]

USSR To Cut Oil Deliveries Due to 'Problems'

LD0202192190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] A recent report that supplies of Soviet oil to Czechoslovakia are to be cut in the first quarter of this year has been the subject of much speculation and rumor. Therefore, a CTK correspondent requested an interview with Lubomir Martak, the director of the relevant department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Martak said that the Soviet Union, because of internal problems, has asked to be allowed to make a proportional reduction in supplies to all its consumers. In Czechoslovakia's case, this amounts to a cut of four percent in the first quarter's volume, on the understanding that this volume is to be made up during subsequent months. The Soviet Union thus guarantees that its annual deliveries will be fulfilled, and a contract to this effect was signed this week.

At the moment, the Czechoslovak side is engaged in intensive negotiations with its Soviet counterparts with a view to ensuring that the total agreed quantity for the first quarter is indeed delivered, or at least with the goal of reducing the four percent cut already mentioned.

Dubcek Thanks 1968 Red Square Demonstrators

LD0202184390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Alexander Dubcek has sent an open letter to the participants in a demonstration which took place in Moscow's Red Square in August 1968 against the military entry into Czechoslovakia.

Dubcek wrote that he was deeply moved by this demonstration which took place under the slogan "For our freedom and yours." He noted that even now we have not forgotten their heroic and deeply human action, and therefore he would like to pay a tribute to their courage.

Friendship between our nations, wrote Alexander Dubcek, has a long tradition, but it is kept alive by new impulses. We are coming together through our joint effort to renew society, which gives new content to traditional relations. I always wanted to personally shake your hand and thank you for your personal courage, Mr Dubcek wrote. He concluded by inviting our friends, who 21 years ago lifted their voices of conscience and truth, to visit Czechoslovakia.

CSSR-USSR Friendship Society Changes Noted

LD0302210690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] At today's session in Prague, the Czech Central Committee of the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship accepted its Presidium's resignation and ended the Secretariat's activities. A temporary coordination council was appointed to be in charge of the activities until the April extraordinary congress. Because of the decline in membership numbers and financial resources, the union's apparatus will be reduced and changes in the content of activities will take place.

Dienstbier, Genscher Hold News Conference

LD0202184890 Prague CTK in English 1710 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Nuremberg Feb 2 (CTK correspondent)—The whole region to which the Helsinki process applies should be neutral which means that a new security concept can hardly be reached by somebody's declaring neutrality without agreement with other countries, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier stressed at a press conference here today.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister reacted to Thursday's [1 February] proposal of GDR Premier Hans Modrow concerning the unification of the two German states.

"If we accelerate disarmament then we can think in this framework about the so-called neutral zones or zones of transfer from the system of blocs to the system of pluralism. The question is in what context Modrow's proposal would be considered", Jiri Dienstbier underlined.

He explained that for various financial reasons Czechoslovakia has not yet been able to abolish the obligatory exchange of money for tourists from West Germany.

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said he wants to abolish the visa duty between the FRG and Czechoslovakia because it is not in harmony with the current political development. West Germany is going to discuss this issue with its European partners. The borders seem to become an anachronism today, he stressed.

The German unity must be created in a system of cooperation in Europe. Discussions on the unification of the two German states must be held between the West German and GDR Governments immediately after the elections in the GDR on March 18 and the formation of a democratic government there, Genscher stressed.

The unification of the two Germanys is already taking place and this process is more intensive than the same process between Eastern and Western Europe. Nobody has to fear democratic Germany. This Germany will be integrated into the all-European structures, the West German foreign minister underlined and added: "We do not want to use this development to our benefit, we want to reach progress in the interest of the whole of Europe. We want to respect the security interests of all countries, including the Soviet Union. The acceleration of the disarmament process is especially significant. We are facing a decisive stage in the European policy into which the German-German relations will be incorporated."

Dienstbier Interviewed on FRG Visit, Talks

LD0202224790 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by unidentified correspondents from Czechoslovak television and Deutschlandfunk Radio at the conclusion of his visit to the FRG on 2 February; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr Minister, we have reported on the course of your visit to the FRG for our viewers. What conclusions or aspects of your talks with Hans-Dietrich Genscher would you care to single out?

[Dienstbier] I would like to say first of all that the visit and all the talks were exceptionally cordial and friendly. We signed an agreement on setting up cultural centers, and a protocol on cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. We are also going to endeavor to open new border crossings as soon as possible—in short, we are striving to ensure that our border regains the appearance it had for thousands of years instead of the way it looked in the last 40 years, so that people can go from one village to the next along the mountain paths for a beer . I also said that all those offensive fences that make people so afraid are going to be done away with, and I think in a very short time we will manage to conclude all the appropriate agreements concerning these matters.

[Corresponent] What about the question of the status of Czechoslovaks who have sought asylum in the FRG?

[Dienstbier] Yes, I asked Minister Genscher to have this matter dealt with, because there are something like 15,000 of these people in the FRG, and the minister replied quite unequivocally that if we are going to cut down the fence together, he is not going to use regulations to erect new fences.

[Crrespondent] Mr Minister, I would like to ask a rather delicate qeustion: What would you like to see as the outcome of your efforts at reconcilation with the Sudeten Germans?

[Dienstbier] Well, I think that this is, and has been for many years, an artifical problem to a certain extent, because in contrast to Poland, for instance, this problem is different when it comes to the question of borders. The Sudetan German Landsmannschaft [exiles' association] has never called for a revision of the Czechoslovak borders—though you will always find the odd extremist here and there, of course. I would draw attention in this context to an important article by Professor (Hilf) in one of the latest issues of SUDETENDEUTSCH ZEITUNG, in which he reaffirmed all this and went on to say that it is not apologies but future cooperation that is now on the agenda—so that, in short, this issue can never be exploited or misused ever again by anyone against the development of our relations. Once that is clear, then we will be able to consider the Sudeten Germans—and they are willing to be considered so—as people who once lived in our country, who are, in a sense, our compatriots, too, and who are willing, because they have emotional ties with our country, to help our country without making any kind of claims on us, and to deal with us just as Czechs and Slovaks abroad do.

Deputy Minister Previews Mideast Policy Stance

JN0402215690 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 2 Feb 90 pp 1, 28

[Fathi al-Barqawi dispatch from Tunis]

[Text] CSSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vera Bartoskova, along with other East European diplomats, came to Tunis to meet Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat, Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi, and one of the officials in the Tunisian Foreign Ministry.

Mrs Vera Bartoskova said that she came to Tunis on her first official assignment since she was assigned to her post only 17 days ago. Her mission ended the evening before last, when she met with Klibi and his assistant 'Adnan 'Imran after having met with President 'Arafat and Habib Ben Yahia, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry.

The purpose, says Mrs Bartoskova, is to affirm the CSSR's interest in the Arab region which is linked to us by traditional relations of great importance. We came here to tell them that we are thinking of strengthening our economic, political, and educational ties with the Arab world. We have also officially invited President 'Arafat, PLO Political Department head Faruq Qaddumi, Chedli Klibi, and Tunisian Foreign Minister Abdelhamid Cheikh to visit Prague.

Regarding the talks she held with the Palestinian leader, which followed CSSR President Vaclav Havel's announcement that he plans to mediate between the PLO and the Zionist entity, Mrs Bartoskova says: The talks dealt with the current changes in Czechoslovakia. The new domestic situation represents deep transformations that concern democracy, civil liberties, and pluralism, which will be crowned by free and democratic elections in June and which will make the Czechoslovaks forget 40 years of totalitarianism.

Mrs Bartoskova adds that this new domestic situation is connected with the foreign policy of her country, which seeks to stress its freedom, openness, and independence. She says that while her country will continue to improve its friendly international relations with its traditional friends, it will also seek to build new ties with new friends—ties which were not established due to Prague's old policy and due to purely ideological reasons.

Does Mrs Bartoskova mean Israel? She says: Certainly, we are working to establish ties with Israel. It should be understood that this decision does not constitute a hostile move against our traditional friends. On the contrary, we are thinking of holding discussions with all parties to the conflict in the Middle East. All we want is to help solve the crisis and find a peaceful understanding among all the parties concerned in a region that poses threat against international peace.

[Al-Barqawi] Do you think this decision will lessen Yitzhaq Shamir's intransigence? Why do you begin your era of openness with Israel?

[Bartoskova] We will restore our relations, not only with Israel, but also with Chile and South Korea.

[Al-Barqawi] But restoring ties with Israel will create a hot spot in the Middle East.

[Bartoskova] This may be the case for you. But, do you not think that restoring ties with South Korea will upset the PRC and North Korea?

[Al-Barqawi] What does Mrs Bartoskova think about the four-year-old perestroyka?

[Bartoskova] I am very optimistic. Perestroyka will, and must, succeed.

[Al-Barqawi] What future will Mr Gorbachev face after all these rumors that follow him?

[Bartoskova] Gorbachev is a smart, realistic man who is aware and convinced of what he has done, and he will succeed.

[Al-Barqawi] Can the Czechoslovak diplomat imagine the possibility of perestroyka's failure?

[Bartoskova] I cannot permit myself such an illusion or fantasy.

[Al-Barqawi] Do you approve of the execution sentence against Ceausescu and his wife after reports denying most of charges attributed to him began to emerge?

[Bartoskova] The Romanian people are the only ones able to answer this question.

[Al-Barqawi] And the unification of Germany?

[Bartoskova] I have no opinion on this issue.

New Situation Prevails for 'Arafat Visit

LD0302175990 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] As you may have heard in the news, Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat, has been invited for an official visit to Czechoslovakia. More in the following comment prepared by Radio Prague's Petr Pravda.

Last year Yasir 'Arafat was a frequent visitor to Czechoslovakia. The former Czechoslovak leadership expressed natural support for his struggle for self-determination of the Palestinian people. The present Czechoslovak leaders are expected to do the same. What has changed are the reasons for their support, which are no longer political; they are now humanitarian.

In the past month Yasir 'Arafat has tried hard to put an end to the Middle East conflict. But Czechoslovakia has not been able to help much even though we convened the model conference on the Middle East in Prague. Why?

First of all Czechoslovakia has not had diplomatic relations with Israel, the second protagonist in the Middle East crisis, and Czechoslovakia did not seem anxious to resume these relations soon. This fact made it impossible for our country to negotiate with Israel as an equal partner and make a substantial contribution towards settling the conflict.

Now this is becoming possible. Diplomatic relations with Israel will be resumed soon. Czechoslovakia will have the full right to mediate peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians if the two countries are interested in this. Yasir 'Arafat's talks in Prague can be therefore more fruitful than before and he may also find Czechoslovakia a more useful partner than last year.

Czechoslovakia's serious and purposeful diplomatic work can substantially contribute to solving the Middle East conflict through our small country. Naturally it does not intend to replace the United States and Egypt in this. These two countries have been trying for the settlement of the crisis for many months now.

Leadership Moves in Organizations, Institutions

AU0302180590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 1 February on page 2 carries a 60-word report on the resignation of Josef Hromadka from the post of chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches on 31 January, in connection with his duties as CSSR deputy premier. The report notes that Pavel Smetana, acting deputy synod of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, was "charged with the chairmanship" for the duration of Hromadka's work in the government.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 February on page 2 carries a 220-word "mm"-signed report on a plenary meeting of the Kosice National Committee held on 31 January. According to the report, the meeting accepted the resignation of 25 deputies to the Kosice National Committee, 19 of them members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and elected 33 new deputies, "most of them from the Public Against Violence civic movement." The meeting also accepted the resignation of Mayor Jan Trebula "on health grounds" and elected Jan Kopnicky as new mayor of Kosice. Judita Stofkova, Jozef Kozak, and Oliver Varga were elected as deputy mayors. The PRAVDA report mentions that the meeting was attended by "Robert Harencar, first CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs."

Civic Forum Official Discusses Election Campaign

LD2701225590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Summary] Representatives of Civic Forums from Bohemia and Moravia met in Prague today. Correspondent Rudolf Erhart spoke to (Ivan Linda) chairman of the organizational commission of the Civic Forum coordination center. He said that some kind of information coordination was particularly important because of the election campaign and the byelections to the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council. For this reason a network of district coordination centers simply for informational purposes, which are subordinate to 14 towns in Bohemia and Moravia, was created. The representatives of these centers met in Prague.

[Begin recording] [Erhart] "What is the difference between the activity of Civic Forums in the regions and districts and those in Prague?"

[(Linda)] "Between Prague and the country the situations are very different. They also are different in enterprise and local Civic Forums. I consider one of the most pressing problems at the present time to be the proposal to abolish Civic Forums in schools, where, thanks to the nomenklatura of the Communist Party, the situation is very bad, from primary schools right up to universities. The Civic Forums should remain in schools because the position of people who may have worked in education for years must be once again responsibly discussed under civic pressure."

[Erhart] "As far as the forthcoming election campaign is concerned, is the Civic Forum—not only in the center but also in the regions and districts—not concerned that, for example certain strong political parties—and I do not want to name any—will act without regard for joint action with Civic Forum?"

[(Linda)] "No, so far we are not worried about that because from experience in talks with district forums and according to talks so far with representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Party and the Socialist Party. We therefore will not be joint candidates with these two large parties, but I do not think that we will get in the way of each others candidature. Our main goal is representation of the smaller and newly created parties, and above all, representation of nonparty members."

Civic Forum Cites Dangers Threatening Democracy

LD2701234190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] In the debate at the Czech assembly of district Civic Forums, which took place in Prague today, their spokesmen exchanged practical experiences from their activities. They concentrated, among other things, on the course of action they should adopt in the election campaign and spoke in favor of the rapid formulation of the Civic Forum's election platform. They pointed out that there exists, especially in the countryside, a certain scope for the activity of demagogues capable of questioning any change. The debate also focused on the Civic Forum's attitude toward state administration and the Czechoslovak Communist Party. A substantial part of the debate was devoted to the danger for the emergent democracy arising from the activity of former sections of the National Security Corps and the State Security Service in particular.

Civic Forum Compromises on Legislative Body

LD0202060790 Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—The Civic Forum, represented by Petr Pithart and Josef Vavrousek, gave a press conference here today about preparations for elections.

"The paragraphed law on the elections can in no way be identified with the ideas of the Civic Forum, it is the result of a compromise", Petr Pithart underlined, adding that the Civic Forum had to respect the wish of the Public Against Violence not to change the structure of

the legislative bodies now. The system of majority representation has in fact suited no political party. On the other hand the system of proportional representation is being accepted by the Czechoslovak citizens, who are used to the so-called imperative mandate providing them with the possibility to recall the deputies. Despite the fact that no deputy was recalled in the past 40 years the people feel that the imperative mandate should be preserved, Petr Pithart pointed out.

The Civic Forum is going to support the system of proportional representation which will make possible the development of political life and parallelly the participation of a greater number of political parties in the elections. The law includes a so-called five-per-cent clause which means in fact that parties with a number of votes will not be represented in the parliament. The aim of this measure is to make it possible to create a strong and effective government, Petr Pithart underlined.

Kvetko Elected Democratic Party Chairman

LD2601233490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The Central Committee of the Democratic Party today elected Dr. Martin Kvetko as the party's new chairman, co-opted new members of the Central Committee, and approved a proposal on forming a rehabilitation commission. It also discussed the principles for accepting new members in the Democratic Party and asked the Presidium to secure the preparation of a preelection campaign.

Party for Free Citizens' Positions Cited

AU0302181290 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 4

["(SIR)"-signed report: "For Moravia and Silesia"]

[Text] Brno—Another of the new political parties founded recently in Brno is the Party for Free Citizens. Through its points of view it associates itself with and unequivocally supports proposals for a two-tier system—that is, abolishing the regions and establishing autonomy for Moravia and Silesia. It also supports proposals for directly established larger conurbations of towns and villages to revert to their original systems and names. Far greater authority should be given to local national committees. Among other things, it acknowledges the provision of social certainties for all citizens, supports pluralism in all spheres of social life, and emphasizes that it is a people's party which affiliates workers, farmers, and other citizens.

More Parties Meet Registration Requirement

LD0202110690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] In fulfillment of the requirement of the law on political parties, more parties have been registered: The Christian Democratic Party as an independent party, acts within the framework of Civic Forum. Vaclav Benda, chairman of its Executive Committee, admitted the possibility that it will enter the June election with Civic Forum. The Social Democratic Party in Slovakia has its seat in Bratislava. Its renewal congress will take place on Saturday [3 February].

The Party of Democratic Socialism has also been registered. It is a social democratic-type party, fighting for a more prosperous Slovakia and supporting the comprehensive development of civil and personal rights. Its congress is convened to take place in Bratislava on 24 March.

Green Party Registers at Interior Ministry

LD0302194690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Today the Green Party was registered as a political party at the Czech Ministry of the Interior. This means that starting today it can act as a corporate body and develop activity on the territory of the republic. This will enable the Green Party to finalize all outstanding organizational questions by the time of the congress, which is being planned for 17 February in Brno, in order to be able to enter the election campaign as an equal political party.

Democratic Forum Favors Separation From CPCZ

LD2601194490 Prague CTK in English 1246 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)—The Czech and Slovak Lands' Coordinating Centre of the Democratic Forum (of Communists) yesterday constituted preparatory groups for establishing the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum as a modern left-wing party.

Discussions in primary groupings and in district centres indicate that in cities about 60 per cent of members of the Democratic Forum (of Communists) demand radical separation from the Czechoslovak Communist Party. 20 per cent speak for temporary integration in the party believing in its possible revival on the principles of democracy. 20 per cent hesitate. On the contrary, in smaller towns and in the countryside indecision or endeavour to reconstruct the Communist Party prevail. The situation also differs in Slovakia, Moravia and Bohemia.

Bomb Scare Disrupts Communist Party Rally

AU0102224090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jan 90 p 2

["ao"-signed report: "Through Bombs Toward Democracy?"]

[Text] Zilina— An all-district aktiv of Communists was held in the new sports hall in Zilina yesterday. Its participants very attentively listened to a speech by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, about the party's current tasks in a changing society. Peter Weiss replied to a number of specific questions. Participants in the discussion endorsed the efforts to fundamentally transform the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia into a modern left-wing party. They welcomed with applause the suggestion to change its name. At the same time they condemned those who are trying to enforce the discrimination of upright Communists under the guise of democracy. Many fears about the wicked course of action by forces which operate behind the scenes were confirmed by an anonymous telephone call stating that a bomb had been planted in the sports hall, in which children, too, were exercising at that moment. The organizers therefore had to terminate the rally prematurely.

CPCZ Secretary Protests Against Trespassing

AU0302211990 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Jan 90 p 2

["jsm"-signed report: "Let Us Guard the Velvet Revolution"]

[Excerpts] Josef Hora, press spokesman for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, has informed journalists about a letter in which O. Saling, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, asks the federal minister of interior to investigate the incident in Nymburk.

On Monday, 15 January, about 300 people broke into the building of the Nymburk CPCZ District Committee. According to the testimony of district committee Secretary Jarmila Smidova, exclamations resounded throughout the building, such as—I am quoting from the news conference: You Communist swines, we will flood you out like rats, and we will make short work of you! . [passage omitted] The secretary of the CPCZ District Committee and other staff members were not only anxious about property, but felt physically threatened.

According to Josef Hora, the letter to the minister of interior was also motivated by the circumstance that a subsequent request that the building and its workers be protected during a demonstration called by the Civic Forum for 17 January, made by the secretary of the CPCZ District Committee and addressed to the chief of the National Security Corps District Committee, was turned down. Let us add that the demonstration scheduled for 17 January did take place, but only in front of the building. [passage omitted]

CPSL Official Queried on Party Reorganization

AU0202163790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Feb 90 p 3

[Jan Siroky, Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Executive Committee secretary, replies to questions on the reorganization of the party apparatus in Slovakia: "How Many Are There and How Much Do They Make?"]

[Text] Many questions concentrate on frequently discussed topics: What is happening with the reorganization of the party's apparatus, what has already been changed, and what is still to be changed? This is a complicated series of questions. However, I will answer them at least in brief.

The number of employees in the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] apparatus—recently, there has been a lot of misinformed talk about tens of thousands of people being employed in the party apparatus. The facts are as follows: Around 3,000 political, specialist, and technical staff were employed in the CPSL apparatus; 289 of these were employed at the CPSL Central Committee. Within the framework of the new structure, a maximum number of 90 established positions have been determined. CPSL regional committees and their apparatuses are being abolished; throughout the entire Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] 80.3 percent of the apparatus is being reduced (from 10,570 people to a ceiling of 2,082). Systemization is dependent on financial resources. For a CPSL district committee these are made up from members' contributions (70 percent, as 30 percent remains at the disposal of CPSL primary organizations); in central organs and their organizations these resources are made up from levies from party enterprises' profits and, as the case may be, from donations. It is necessary to add that the designated ceilings on the numbers of employees will, obviously, be difficult to achieve where the membership base has been more significantly reduced.

The policy of reorganizing the party's apparatus—Reorganization issues have been discussed many times by party organs. The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee has abolished the organizational arrangement and the CPSL Central Committee departmental system. Reorganization has been declared publicly—that is, a three-month reorganization time limit has been set; when this comes to an end, all employees in the apparatus will be made redundant with two months notice. A commission that has been established is discussing retirement with employees who have two years left before they reach retirement age. These employees can request the District National Committee to grant them a so-called special old age pension if the labor department cannot guarantee them suitable employment. Until the end of March 1990 (the end of the

reorganization time limit) possibilities will be discussed with every employee for his further employment and, where appropriate, the possibility of remaining in the party's apparatus (we do not want to give up people who are capable, honest, and willing to help). While resolving all the labor and legal issues, the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee will adhere to the Labor Code's stipulations and to the Federal Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs decrees of December 1989.

Salary conditions—A new salary scale will apply to CPCZ apparatus employees from 1 February 1990. Salary scales are similar to those for employees in the apparatuses of political parties and social organizations. For example, the salary for a CPSL Central Committee employee will be in the region of Kcs2,500 to Kcs4,400.

CPSL Control Over Printed Media Deplored

LD0202163590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] A meeting on dismantling the PRAVDA combine has taken place in the Slovak Government office in Bratislava. The meeting was convened at the request of the work force of three printing plants and of the leadership of printing houses who are demanding the depoliticization of the plants and their independent existence. Jozef Markus, first deputy premier of the Slovak Government, emphasized that centralization of the press has grown beyond a tolerable level in our country and that its present form contradicts the logic of the economy and of politics alike.

Jan Budaj, representative of the Public Against Violence, noted that the resolution with the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] must be explicit and public. It is necessary for the party to publicly define its attitude to the CPSL monopoly in the sphere of newspapers and periodicals, which continues to exist, because at present the party covers and has under its political control approximately 90 percent of newspapers and periodicals. Jan Budaj stressed that one cannot stand by and watch the misinformation, the hushing-up and the skillful use of certain information the objective of which is to promote instability and economic strikes. If these matters are not resolved quickly, the Public Against Violence, in coordination with the Slovak Government, will be forced to adopt appropriate political steps.

CPSL Leadership Rejects Havel's Emblem Proposal

AU0202172590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Feb 90 p 2

["Excerpts" of statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee on the constitutional changes proposed by President Vaclav Havel on 23 January: "What Name, What Emblem...?"]

[Text] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel made use of his right to initiate new legislation and, in his speech at the 23 January 1990 session of the CSSR Federal Assembly, put forward major constitutional changes, proposing changes in the name of the state, in the state emblems, and in the name of the Army. He gave as a reason for his proposal to delete the word socialist from the CSSR's name, the loss of meaning of this term in the context of our language.

The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] as a national political force in the Slovak Socialist Republic and a constructive state-formative [statotvorna] component of the Czechoslovak pluralistic political system combats, and will combat, everything that has compromised the ideals of socialism. It will do everything it can to become a modern political force, to be among those left-wing parties that are being renewed or newly set up which, as President V. Havel declared in his address, "will sooner or later succeed in returning substance also to the word socialism."

A separate problem is the proposal for a new state emblem of the Czechoslovak Republic. "It should express the equal union of two nations," as the president of the Republic correctly stated.

In our opinion, however, the proposed solution actually calls in question the basic principle of the federative arrangement of Czech-Slovak relations—that is, the principle of national sovereignty. The heraldic embodiment of this principle must express the equality of the historical Czech and Slovak national symbols.

The variant of the Czechoslovak state emblem that appears to be optimal for the Czechoslovak Federation is, as is generally being recommended, the variant based on the well-known proposal of Kursa of 1919. Its point of departure is the division of one shield into two halves, with the symbol of Czech statehood on the left-hand side and the symbol of Slovak statehood on the right-hand side.

The proposals made by the president of the Republic for changes in the names of the CSSR, the Czech Socialist Republic, and the Slovak Socialist Republic as well as in the state symbols are so weighty, from political and economic viewpoints, that the final solution of these issues should be left to the newly elected Federal Assembly. In light of this, we add our voice to the demands of the public that the incumbent reconstructed Federal Assembly not make any substantial legislative changes in this regard. We therefore recommend to the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Socialist Republic Government that they consider the proposed changes, above all, from the political and economic viewpoints and from the viewpoint of time. We believe that our standpoint, which consistently respects the basic premises of the federative arrangement of Czech-Slovak relations, will win broad support in the public opinion in the Slovak national-political environment. In view of the key significance of the above issues for the Slovak

nation, we demand that the supreme Slovak national bodies, too, assume a responsible standpoint on them.

Weiss: CPSL Shedding 'Neo-Stalinist Ballast'

AU0402220690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jan 90 p 2

[Statement issued by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Executive Committee: "Has the Knell Finally Tolled for Stalinism?"]

[Text] The telephones are literally ringing off their hooks in our editorial office and many callers are asking: "Have Stalinist practices in the party come to an end or are the Communists merely making cosmetic changes?"

[Weiss] No, we are not making cosmetic changes. We realize that we only have two possibilities. Either we ideologically, organizationally, and—obviously—by changing our name transform ourselves speedily and thoroughly into a modern left-wing party with its own original identity, with an attractive and realistic national program, and with strong political personalities—as we resolved to do at the extraordinary Communist Party of Slovakia Congress—or we do not rid ourselves in a dignified manner of the neo-Stalinist ballast and gradually change into a sect that has lost real influence in society. To succumb at this moment to a mood of proud defiance against political and social reality, to allow ourselves to be carried away by nostalgia for times of "former glory," to become preoccupied with our burdens and troubles, or to concentrate on returning all the blows—justified and unjustified—that we have received, would mean hampering our chances of positively influencing our people's future fate.

We realize that we are in a deep crisis, a crisis that has affected not only our party but also our whole movement. We must stop looking at this crisis exclusively in categories of individual morality, political incompetence, or erroneous political decisions—something that still often happens. I do not want to contradict the necessity of drawing conclusions for the political and moral breakdown of specific officials. Our historic downfall has much deeper systemic causes. These unfold from certain ideological dogmas which we as the ruling party attempted to forcibly adapt to reality—from fundamental theoretical starting points to the organization of society—and with which we complied in political decisionmaking. It is possible to say that the historical roots of our current problems extend back to the period of schism in the international workers' movement in 1914. Therefore, it is our duty to explain to party members and to the public—as quickly as possible and from objective scientific positions—the dark and tragic pages from history. This should be within the context of the history of the international workers' movement. Only in this way is it possible to cast off the burden of the past and, at the same time, to pursue the truly positive values which our party has introduced into our people's modern history.

We cannot overcome the crisis of confidence in the party without fundamentally renewing its drastically impaired ideological identity and without clarifying issues surrounding its social basis, its place in the newly evolving political spectrum, its symbolism, and its name. Thus, our party's key task on the road toward its transformation into a modern left-wing party is, besides a moral purge, fundamental ideological rearmament. In current attitudes socialism and communism are often mechanically identified with the totalitarian system of government. This involves grave theoretical problems with which we are dealing. This also involves formulating our attitude toward the European left as a whole and toward theoretical starting points and the communist movement's values in particular. This involves developing our attitude toward the historic results of the social democratic movement, evaluating historical experiences with the application of Leninism under our conditions, understanding democracy, and so on. So, cosmetic changes are not the issue, but the issue is our party's fundamental transformation.

Conclusions Adopted by New Slovak Parties

LD2601233290 Prague CTK in English 2123 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Communique on Meeting of New Slovak Political Parties"—CTK headline]

[Text] Bratislava Jan 26 (CTK)—Representatives of new Slovak political parties: The Czechoslovak Agrarian Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Party of Democratic Socialism, the Social-Democratic Party in Slovakia, the Party of Independent Democrats, the Green Party and the Party Trend of the Third Millennium, met here today because they are not satisfied with the undemocratic way of tackling basic political issues to date.

Having discussed a law on political parties, they adopted the following conclusions:

1. Newly registered political parties must be represented in all political negotiations at the level of the republic and the federation.
2. A law must stipulate at which workplaces employees cannot be members of political parties; only necessary spheres in which this limitation is to be applied must be defined.
3. Political, material and economic equlization of political parties existing before November 17, 1989 and the new political parties and civic movements must be ensured.
4. New political parties must participate directly in the legislative process, mainly in the preparation of a new law on elections; which should become a subject of public discussion of citizens.
5. New political parties must be enabled to enter mass media under the same conditions as the others.

The adopted conclusions will be submitted to the Central Committee and the Presidium of the Slovak National Front and the chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

Slovak Section of Socialist Party Founded

LD3001222290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Summary] The constituent conference of the Slovak regional organization of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party has been held. Eng. Vladimir Kovalcik, member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party preparatory committee in Slovakia, said Slovak citizens are trying to join the united party within the framework of the CSSR. As for the main features of its policy, the party will strive for the independence, sovereignty, and prosperity of people. This can only be started, Kovalcik said, when we have succeeded in improving the situation on the domestic market and if we support the development of those industries able to compete on foreign markets. We want to achieve convertibility of our currency and to put an end to the deterioration of the environment, he said. We want to preserve full employment of all working people in the course of economic restructuring of society. The party will radically raise the standard of social services, in particular in all spheres of health care and in care for mother and child.

Slovak Social Democratic Party Reestablished

LD0302210890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] A working congress to reestablish the Slovak Democratic Party took place in Bratislava today. Its participants recalled the circumstances of the end of the party in 1948 and discussed its activities in the new conditions.

The party endorses the fundamental principles of the Socialist International—freedom, justice, democracy, and solidarity.

A presidium and executive committee of the Slovak Social Democratic party, headed by Ivan Pavlicek, were elected at the congress.

People's Chamber Meets; New Ministers Named

LD0502102790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0959 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber met for its 16th session in Berlin on Monday. The agenda includes the election of representatives of roundtable parties and appointments of ministers without portfolio to the Council of Ministers.

The highest representative body of the people is also to decide on the legislative period of the People's Chamber, deal with the bill on the elections to the local representative bodies, and give a first reading of the sixth Penal Code amendment bill.

In addition, resolutions on guaranteeing freedom of speech, information, and media freedom as well as on the activities by right-wing extremist and neo-fascist forces in the GDR are to be passed.

The session is being broadcast live by GDR television and radio.

Bomb Threat Interrupts Session

LD0502110490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1043 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After checking the security at the People's Chamber in the Berlin Palace of the Republic, the 16th session was continued.

There was a bomb threat. The session had to be broken off for 15 minutes.

Modrow Addresses Session

LD0502114190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1016 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The situation in the country, characterized by increasing work stoppages, in the opinion of GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, demands that the People's Chamber elections and the creation of a government of national responsibility be brought forward. Modrow proposed 18 March (People's Chamber) and 6 May (local government) as election dates.

In the future, 13 parties and groupings of the GDR are to participate in a government of national responsibility. This is the proposal made by Prime Minister Hans Modrow to the People's Chamber this morning. He has already conducted talks with the eight figures of the opposition parties and groupings proposed for the elections. The GDR can no longer be governed in any other way until the elections, Modrow said.

As representative for the roundtable he appointed his deputy, Dr. Peter Moreth, who will be assisted by Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann from "Democracy Now."

More on Modrow Address

LD0502124990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow, addressing the 16th session of the People's Chamber on Monday, has affirmed his proposals for German unity in a personal statement. Modrow said that as head of government, he is committed to the interests of the people, not to a party. His proposals have been submitted because it is the demand of the times to make such an offer in order to create preconditions for the inevitable process of the unification of the German states.

He is an exponent of realpolitik, he said, which is why he has been compelled to make it clear that the way toward German unity must be pursued in a responsible manner. It should be a way in Europe and for Europe that should threaten no one and that respects postwar frontiers. He does not believe that there will be agreement on all points of his proposals. If there is opposition to the military neutrality of Germany, then this should be discussed. Modrow emphasized that he has spoken of military neutrality. Why should a start not be made with the reduction of the military presence in the two German states?

Modrow stressed that the German nation, despite all attempts at demolition, has never disappeared. However, differing legal conditions have developed. The clarification and safeguarding of legal positions should play a great role in the forthcoming talks. These involve issues of expropriation as a result of the Potsdam Agreement that have been handled differently in the two countries. [passage indistinct]

He agreed with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl that the path to German unity is no mechanical sequence of events. He is in no way calling for postponement or delay. But the responsibility should become apparent in a "growing together," not in a "nailing together."

Modrow called on the Federal Government to make a contribution toward stabilizing supply and production in the GDR without delay. He greatly welcomes the fact that in Davos the federal chancellor had stated his readiness to provide aid on a "new scale."

In conclusion, Modrow called on the GDR population to go about their daily work by exhausting all possibilities for production. Only in this way can the GDR reach 18 March properly. Strikes will only result in their own situation worsening.

After Modrow's statement, a motion was passed to conduct a debate on the German question at the 17th session of the People's Chamber.

The deputies resolved by an overwhelming majority that the ninth electoral period of the People's Chamber would end on 17 March 1990. At the same time, it was recommended that the Council of State call People's

Chamber elections for 18 March this year. After this the first reading of the draft bill for the local elections on 6 May 1990 started. It was set out by the chairman of the ad hoc commission, Dr. Paul Eberle (National Democratic Party of Germany). [passage omitted]

New Ministers Named

LD0502112890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1057 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At its 16th session, the GDR People's Chamber elected with a majority eight new ministers without portfolio to a government of national responsibility.

They are from the opposition parties and groupings of the central roundtable: Tatjana Boehm (Independent Women's Association), Rainer Eppelmann (Democratic Awakening), Sebastian Pflugbeil (New Forum), Matthias Platzek (Green Party), Gerd Poppe (Initiative for Peace and Human Rights), Dr. Walter Romberg [Social Democratic Party], Klaus Schlueter (Green League), and Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann (Democracy Now).

The United Left had canceled its participation in a government after Premier Hans Modrow announced the four-point program on German unity last week.

Chamber Bans 'Republicans'

LD0502131190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1222 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The "Republicans" have been banned in the GDR. Following a lengthy debate, the People's Chamber adopted a resolution to this effect by a majority today.

The ban is to include groups with similar nationalist, fascist, and racist inclinations.

Resolution on Media

LD0502123390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1154 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber today adopted a resolution on guaranteeing freedom of opinion, information, and the media. It was approved without any votes against, and with only five abstentions. Remaining differences at the previous People's Chamber session regarding views held by the roundtable on this subject have been resolved in the past week.

On 12 February, a Media Control Council is to be set up that is to include, in addition to the parties and groups at the roundtable, representatives of all the parliamentary groups in the People's Chamber not represented at the roundtable.

On 8 February, the government will create preconditions for public monitoring of printing and paper capacity.

Roundtable Supports 18 Mar Elections

LD0502091190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0810 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Representatives of 16 parties, political groupings, and organizations opened the 11th session at the GDR central roundtable in Berlin on Monday [5 February].

On the agenda are discussions about the new electoral law of the GDR that will be given its second reading in the People's Chamber today. An interim report will deal with the party and association law. Deputy Premier Dr. Christa Luft will be talking about economic issues.

This afternoon's agenda includes problems of nuclear energy. Several new parties and organizations will be handing in their applications to be allowed to attend the roundtable.

Briefed on Security Disbandment

LD0502101790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0846 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The viability of the former GDR Office for National Security no longer exists, and there is also no danger of it being reorganized. Werner Fischer, of the Initiative for Peace and Human Rights, which is a member of the Group of Three of the central roundtable for the disbandment of the office, made this assessment in Berlin on Monday at the 11th session of the roundtable.

Fischer reported on various difficulties and obstacles in the work that had, however, been gradually overcome. Different levels of disbandment of the offices have been achieved in the areas. The cooperation between the Group of Three, government representatives, and the roundtable has also proved successful in the areas. An operational group was set up that followed up information given by the population on secret meetings or similar activities.

Not all former employees of the office are "criminals," Fischer said. The rule of law demands that they first be found guilty following a trial. The speaker rejected the practices of some enterprises not to employ such people on principle.

18 March Election Upheld

LD0502100990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0918 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following controversial discussions, the 11th session of the roundtable advocated on Monday to adhere to the People's Chamber election date of 18 March. Twenty-two participants voted against and nine for a motion by the New Forum calling for parliamentary elections on 6 May. There were seven abstentions.

The New Forum argued that the premature election date was a tactical manoeuver that offered advantages to the established parties and those parties and organizations supported by FRG parties. The Social Democratic Party representative, as well as other participants at the roundtable rejected the New Forum motion "out of concern for stability in the country." The GDR needs a democratically legitimated government right away.

Twenty-two participants in the roundtable also advocated that no guest speakers from the FRG and West Berlin be invited to the parliamentary elections on 18 March in order to ensure equal opportunities for all the parties and associations. The motion was introduced by the Initiative for Peace and Human rights. Ten participants voted against the motion, with six abstentions. The New Forum expressed the view that guest speakers would blind the electorate to the real quality of the party. Wolfgang Schnur from the Democratic Awakening rejected this accusation.

Luft Addresses Roundtable

LD0502115990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1039 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Vice Premier Dr. Christa Luft has spoken out against the precipitate integration of the GDR mark and the Deutsche mark [DM]. Addressing the GDR central roundtable in Berlin on Monday, she said that the advantages of an immediate introduction of the DM as currency in the GDR would be speedy overcoming of supply bottlenecks, expansion of tourism, and constant pressure on the enterprises to measure their products by world standards. However, there are several disadvantages. Thus an immediate currency union will not narrow production and wages differentials, nor slow down the exodus of people. A number of enterprises will have to be closed down, which would result in the dismissal of their work force. Another disadvantage is that currency sovereignty would thus be abandoned and savings might have to be devalued.

Christa Luft therefore advocated that a referendum be held on German unity, as well as on currency policy. Until then the objective is to strengthen and improve the GDR economy, to achieve partial convertibility of the mark, and to consider accepting FRG emergency aid worth DM 10,000 to 15,000 million.

Christa Luft began her address by speaking about the social component of the economic reform. She emphasized that the right of all GDR citizens to a job must be safeguarded, which, however, requires a more stringent performance principle. Private enterprises too are obliged to guarantee the social protection of their employees. Generally speaking, the social safeguarding is the responsibility of the state.

Prof. Luft said that the government is working out a permanent job- procurement and retraining program. She stressed that the idea of currency reform in the sense of devaluing savings is not being entertained. However, a reform of prices, including retail prices, is necessary, and this will involve the replacement of subsidies with special benefits payments.

On ownership questions, Christa Luft said that in the future a multitude of forms of ownership will develop alongside the currently prevalent public ownership. They should be granted the same chances. During the past 20 years the number of small and medium-sized enterprises fell drastically from 12,000 to 3,550 at present. With economic reform, the intention is to create freedom for enterpreneurship. A government working group is at present dealing with questions of reprivatizing enterprises that were semi-state owned or private up to 1972, Christa Luft said.

The cooperative ownership system should be further strengthened. State ownership also will be legitimate in the future, but it must be brought into line with the laws of market economy. The basis for the workers to purchase share certificates in publicly owned enterprises ought to be legally regulated. In the past, insufficient use was made of forms of international cooperation, such as leasing, barter transactions, or contracting out. Now the government has created legal conditions for the highest form, participation of foreign capital. Here one thinks not only of the FRG; mutual advantage and effectiveness must always be decisive.

Prior to this, Dr. Karl Gruenheid from the economic committee spoke on the situation in the national economy. Strikes and brief walkouts in January resulted in daily production sinking below December's. For 1990, the government is reckoning on a production level 4 to 5 per cent below that of last year. In the meantime, the government has agreed to wage increases to the tune of 4.7 billion marks. In foreign trade, serious contradictions were apparent, Gruenheid said. Thus the planned exports are not being achieved at present, but additional imports were being affected. They are reckoning on an import surplus at the end of the year of 3 billion marks in the nonsocialist economic sphere. The GDR economy urgently needs to open up internationally. Here foreign capital is "necessary, urgent, and welcome."

SED/PDS Renamed Party of Democratic Socialism

LD0402144490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1424 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (AND)—Effective immediately, the SED/PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany/Party for Democratic Socialism] will be known as PDS, which stands for "Party of Democratic Socialism." The next party congress will confirm the name change, the PDS party executive announced today to ADN.

This step took account of the party grass roots' urgent demand to separate themselves in name as in all other matters from the SED. Acccepting the new membership card was an endorsement of the Party of Democratic Socialism's aims.

Party Congress Moved Up

LD0402174590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] party executive has decided to move the party congress forward to 24 and 25 February 1990. It will take place in Berlin. The agenda includes, inter alia, the PDS program for the People's Chamber elections, the party's tasks in the election campaign, and confirmation of its candidates. Rulings are also due to be made on the party program and supplementary elections to the party executive.

Name Change Explained

LD0402231990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The election congress of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) of the GDR is to take place in Berlin on 24 and 25 February 1990, according to a decision made by the party executive today. [passage omitted]

According to a party executive statement conveyed to ADN today, the previous Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]/PDS bears, with immediate effect, just the name PDS, which stands for "Party of Democratic Socialism." The name change is taking account of the urgent demand by the party grass roots for separation from the SED in name, as well as in all other fields.

Acceptance of the new party card is an expression of commitment to the aims of the Party of Democratic Socialism. "Our party is no longer the SED. We are breaking with the past; our democratic initiatives and aims have made us into a new party, although the complicated processes of renewal of structures and within ourselves must be continued."

Taking account of the far-reaching changes in the party since the extraordinary congress, the need to express the qualitatively new condition through a new title as well has now arisen. The following are emphasized among the far-reaching changes: that the party has cut itself off from everything that was connected with the old monopoly of power of the SED and has slotted itself into the structure of parties in the GDR; that it has broken radically with the spirit, structures and methods of the old bureaucratic state party; that all life in the party is based on a new party statute; that the SED leadership has been expelled from the party; and that the party is going through a far-reaching process of renewal.

Gysi Comments on New Name

LD0502022290 East Berlin Television Service in German 1850 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Party of Deocratic Socialism, by correspondent Juergen Hahn on the "Aktuelle Kamera" news bulletin; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Hahn] Mr. Gysi, the name Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is gone; the new name is Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS], but the members have stayed the same. In other words, have things only been newly dressed up?

[Gysi] The membership has by no means stayed the same. After all, far more than a million members have left us, we have entirely changed our party structure, and there have also been new members coming in. The membership consists of those who want this party of democratic socialism and who have made a greater contribution than any others by finally annihilating the old SED structure, which was harder to do than just go and found a new party.

[Hahn] The subjects of German unity, market economy, and ecology have, meanwhile, been claimed by a variety of different parties. What role is there for the PDS to play in this context?

[Gysi] What is at the core of all those issues is the question of how, when, and with which methods to come to terms with them. Market economy alone, for example, does not create a value in itself. It can only be a means to serve the purpose of achieving high economic efficiency, combined with high social security and far-reaching environmental compatibility. What is important, in other words, are the right proportions, the dominance of popular and social property, and, for that matter, also of the employees' shares in it, the role of the trade union, questions with regard to the workers democracy, and there are in fact remarkable differences. The term market economy, as such, does not mean anything, unless you try to give some content to it.

As far as the unification process within a European framework is concerned, there are many issues to be taken into account as well, such as what values we are to bring in, when it is to take place, how the Four Power interests and those of the other European peoples will be considered, on what legal guarantees the process will be based. Will it take place with the objective of an all-German NATO membership—which is something I would reject as a matter of principle—or will it take place with the objective of demilitarization—which, on the other hand, I would support? There is thus a variety of divergent perceptions. The term, in itself, says very little.

[Hahn] Did Mr. Modrow's proposal come as a surprise to you?

[Gysi] No, it did not, because I am not surprised to see that historic developments are being faced. The conditions, objectives and prerequisites he mentioned are different from those cited by others. And if, on top of that, one reads the declaration by our party Presidium, it will become clear where our emphasis lies, as it were, in the current stage of the treaty-based community. Let me say that in order to achieve that, it takes two independent sovereign states because it would otherwise be impossible to make any agreements at all. That also

implies that there should not be any interference in the other side's internal affairs. This is where we need many legal guarantees for our citizens with regard to issues ranging from soil to the validity of labor contracts and the validity of rent and utilization contracts. We hear many people talking about an abundance of different issues but not about what palpable objective questions are to be settled. Let me add one more thought. Going even beyond our declaration, we have made it clear that, in the final analysis, we want to see not only a neutral but also a demilitarized Germany, which means going even farther.

[Hahn] The SED has been subject to strong animosity. Will the PDS not experience that to lesser extent? At one point, you voiced your idea of the PDS going into opposition. Is that not tantamount to abandoning votes?

[Gysi] I am not quite sure. Many voters perhaps want a strong opposition. In the final analysis, they are to decide our future role. Realistically speaking, because no other party is willing to cooperate with us, we expect our role to be that of an opposition party, but that too may change in the course of the coming weeks or months, depending on the constellation given at the time. We will not dissociate ourselves from anybody. We are prepared to engage in broad democratic cooperation. It somewhat grieves me that even among those who bear political responsibility, some have simply refused to understand that we have become a new party, that we have achieved quite a lot, in my view, and that the process we have had to undergo has been difficult. Founding a new party would have been easier, it is true, but historically speaking it would not have been as valuable.

PDS Transfers M 3 Billion to State Budget

LD0402185190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1753 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] executive decided today to pay a reserve credit balance of over M 3 billion to the GDR state budget. This sum comes from unspent profits of party enterprises over the past 20 years.

As the party executive informed ADN, it has sent a letter to the GDR prime minister requesting that the money be used for specific purposes and that these be stated publicly. The party executive has been guided in this decision by the fact that the country's complicated economic situation demands such support. Therefore, the majority of party enterprises have been, or will be given up.

The income and expenditure accounts of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] or SED-PDS for 1989 available to the party executive show income of about M 1.5 billion against expenditures of about M 1.65 billion. Topping the expenditure list are wages and salaries (including additional wage costs, taxes and social insurance costs) for staff of the former district organizations, at 25.5 percent. Such costs are shown at 10.5 percent for the area organizations and 3.4 percent for the former Central Committee. Spending on subsidies for the party press took up 20.2 percent of the money. Other spending is listed for grants, catering subsidies, care of party veterans, management of buildings, and construction projects and repairs.

The income resulted mainly from profit payments from the enterprises (M 720.3 million) and membership subscriptions (M 710.4 million).

In 1989, more than M 100 million hard-currency (non-socialist currency) and M 3 million (socialist currency) were made available to finance and hard-currency expenditure. The money came from income from the enterprises, from purchases at the State Bank in accordance with the confirmed plan in accordance with the principles valid in the GDR, and from income from reimbursement of costs from foreign friends and partners of the party and social organisations. It was used, inter alia, for the journeys made by party delegations and leaders, for participation in press festivals abroad, for journeys made by party veterans, for rest cures abroad in the socialist countries by workers at party enterprises, and as solidarity aid for progressive movements throughout the world.

As was further announced to ADN, the demand from the extraordinary trade union congress for the People's Chamber to immediately pass a trade union law—including the amendment to the Constitution—met with the unreserved support of the PDS party executive.

'Further Deterioration' in Honecker's Health

LD0202211990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2042 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At 1100 today, Erich Honecker was called on by two policemen at the place where he is staying in order to prepare future interrogations, lawyer Dr. Wolfgang Vogel told ADN this evening.

"This unannounced investigative action and the previous imprisonment contrary to medical advice led, according to Dr. Peter Althaus (who performed the operation in the Charite hospital—ADN), to a further deterioration in Honecker's state of health. This was apparently also realized by the policemen.

"Dr. Peter Althaus assumes that police interrogations at present could endanger the life of the patient. According to medical opinion, Erich Honecker is not fit for custody and is now not fit to be questioned either."

The statement is signed by lawyers Dr. Wolfgang Vogel and Dr. Friedrich Wolff.

FDP Rules Out Electoral Pact With LDPD

LD0202183590 Hamburg DPA in German 1706 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR's Free Democratic Party [FDP] has ruled out an electoral pact with the former bloc party, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD]. Peter Thietz, the East Berlin spokesman for the FDP, told DPA today that his party would not take up the suggestion by the chairman of the LDPD, Manfred Gerlach. The FDP, whose founding party congress will take place this Sunday in East Berlin, would be tainted with "the smell of the bloc party's old policies" in an alliance with the LDPD and saw a lessening of its chances at the polls. [passage omitted]

Free Democratic Party Congress Opens in Berlin

LD0402124590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1150 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The constituent party congress of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) in the GDR met in Berlin on Sunday [4 February]. On the basis of national associations, the FDP was set up at a central session in Berlin on 27 January.

The FDP considers itself as a liberal party of the center and a sister party of the FDP of the FRG. It aims at "gathering and uniting all progressive liberal forces that approve its objectives."

The constituent party congress will be attended by guests Otto Count Lambsdorff, chairman of the FRG-FDP, Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the FDP lower house group, and FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Genscher Addresses Congress

LD0402140690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1330 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Germans want to live amongst Europeans in freedom peace and unity, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told delegates to the founding congress of the GDR Free Democratic Party in Berlin today. Genscher strongly supported decisive disarmament. Since the stone wall fell, the wall of missiles, bombs, and shells had to be carried away, the FRG foreign minister declared to tumultuous applause.

German unity as a decisive factor of stability should not be at the expense of other nations and has to take into account the security interests of both Europe and the USSR. Germans in the FRG and the GDR have no territorial claims against any nation in Europe. Hans-Dietrich Genscher reasserted that never again should war but peace, freedom, democracy, and human rights emanate from German soil.

New Governing Body Elected

LD0402180190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1720 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The constituent party congress of the Free Democratic Party [FDP] in the GDR today elected its GDR council. The 57-year-old doctor from Dessau, Dr. Bruno Menzel, became its chairman.

Prior to this, the delegates at the FDP party congress had accepted provisional statutes and a provisional program, which are to be valid until the first ordinary party congress. The party congress passed an electoral platform in which the GDR FDP speaks in favour of, inter alia, the speedy establishment of German unity, the implementation of liberal basic positions in state and society, the introduction of social market economy, the restoration and preservation of a liveable environment, and the guaranteeing of social security.

Democratic Awakening Urges Alliance

LD0502014190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2341 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Democratic Awakening [DA] Party recommended an "Alliance of the Center" in a voluntary decision at the regional and central level for the People's Chamber election on 18 March. As the DA's provisional main committee, which met in Halle this weekend, confirmed, this alliance also includes, so far, the German Forum Party, the German Social Union, and the Christian Democratic Union. This is meant to offer people clear opportunity to decide in favor of German state unity, of an ecologically justifiable social market economy, of a state based on freedom and the rule of law, and of the rights of the individual. "The alliance of the center has a common goal: never again socialism in Germany," says the statement, which was conveyed to ADN. This democratic alliance of the political center makes a clear claim to form the GDR Government. [passage omitted]

On United Germany

LD0402161490 Hamburg DPA in German 1540 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Today after its party's main commission had met for two days of consultation, the GDR opposition party Democratic Awakening (DA) resolved a "Statement for a United Germany" in which the desired political "alliance of the center" is once again emphasized. To implement this alliance, there should be cooperation in particular with the Bonn CDU [Christian Democratic Union] and its leading representatives. It says this is in accordance with the party's responsibility for a united Germany. The cooperation is also necessitated by the massive engagement from the SPD [Social Democratic Party] from the Federal Republic, which had forced the other political parties to act.

Democratic Awakening describes the alliance with the East-CDU, the German Forum Party, and the German Social Union as a free decision by the party at regional and central level. With the alliance, the electorate has the clear possibility to decide for state unity, ecologically responsible social market economy, and a state based under the rule of law. This means: never again socialism in Germany.

Carnations Party Rejects Reunification

LD0502111990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1012 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—"The Carnations are not against national unity, but they are against annexation with the Federal Republic of Germany that would turn the GDR into a German backyard," stated the main executive of the Marxist party, The Carnations, after its session this weekend. A paper given to ADN also says that annexation would drive a large part of the population to the poverty line. Mass unemployment and mass ruin of enterprises would be inevitable. [passage omitted]

Brigitte Kahnwald, chairperson of the Carnations, and her deputy, Michael Czollek, were appointed the leading candidates for the People's Chamber elections.

Socialist Students Association Founded

AU0402220490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jan 90 p 2

[ND report: "Renewal of University Policy"]

[Text] Potsdam—A founding congress of the GDR Socialist Students Association [SSB] met in Potsdam over the weekend [20-21 January]. A total of 111 delegates, including 15 with an advisory vote, from 30 universities and 23 technical schools held discussions at the Congress Center in Potsdam's Otto-Grotewohl-Strasse. In programmatic guidelines that were adopted by majority vote, the SSB described itself as an organizationally and politically independent association of students and young scientists. It is committed to humanist, democratic, and socialist values and ideals, and intends to work for a comprehensive renewal of university policy, social equality, and the acceptance of the status of "student," as well as for co-determination regarding the expulsion of students from universities, scholarships, and study trips.

Government To Close More Enterprises

LD0202215290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1647 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has resolved to close additional enterprises or limit their production. The press office of the Ministry of Heavy Industry gave a briefing about this today. The resolutions go back to recommendations from the government commission for the Dresden area. There the unbearably high damage to the environment and the danger to people's health linked with this would no longer permit continuous operation. Reconstruction could also not be justified on account of the extraordinarily high expense.

It says in the statement that the planned measures were a compromise of various interests. They also contained social consequences and solutions. This very point has repeatedly and energetically been brought up at the local roundtable and by the workers. [passage omitted: some enterprises to be affected]

NDPD Congress Presents Germany Policy Concept

AU0502114390 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 22 Jan 90 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "New NDPD Germany Policy Concept for Election Campaign Presented"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] is entering the election campaign with a new concept on Germany policy, a unanimous committment to the market economy, and a new leadership team. These are the most important decisions made by the delegates to the 14th NDPD Congress in Berlin during the weekend [20-21 January].

On the second ballot, the congressional delegates elected Wolfgang Glaeser as party chairman. He received 545 of the 815 valid votes that were cast. A total of 267 delegates voted for his opponent, former party Chairman Guenter Hartmann. The runoff vote was necessary because none of the candidates received the necessary two-thirds majority on the first ballot. Guenter Hartmann, Uwe Lassen, and Klaus-Christian Fischer received the trust of the delegates as deputy chairmen.

The discussions, which were headed by the slogan "For the future of the German nation"—and this is what the National Democrats want to advocate also at the elections on 6 May—will be continued in Berlin at the beginning of March. For these discussions, the delegates to the 14th congress will retain their mandate.

The eight-point plan for the establishment of German unity, which was received by the congress with great approval, is to become part of the NDPD election program. It envisions the proclamation of the German republic by 1995 and the conclusion of a peace treaty with the victorious powers of World War II in 1996-97. [passage omitted]

Democracy Now Calls for Early FRG Help

AU0502121790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR Opposition Calls on Bonn for Speedy Help"]

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—The GDR citizens' movement Democracy Now has called on the FRG Government to

implement specific measures to stabilize the GDR. Konrad Weiss, co-founder of the movement, told the private television station SAT 1 on Tuesday [23 January]: "This also includes that the money starts to flow, which has been promised and which is now obviously being withheld from the Modrow government." The GDR simply needs Western capital to revive the economy. If the FRG Government is not willing to do this now or also for a government in which the opposition participates, "we will have to get the money from other European countries," Konrad Weiss said.

The FRG Government should give some sign that will show the people in the GDR that they can have trust and stay in the country, Weiss noted.

SPD's Boehme Favors German Neutrality

LD0302191690 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Ibrahim Boehme, business manager of the Social Democratic Party of the GDR, has welcomed the concept of neutrality in the unification plan of Premier Modrow. On the sidelines of the founding assembly of the Young Social Democrats in Berlin today, he said that he thinks a demilitarized Germany would be a genuine expression of the future detente process in Europe. The membership of a united Germany in NATO, in his view, is not feasible. [passage omitted]

SPD Accused of Luring Away SED Members

AU0502115790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Jan 90 p 2

[Klaus Steininger editorial: "Casting Out the Nets"]

[Text] Obviously the GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD] lacks experts in all disciplines and at all levels—this is understandable in a young party. Now it wants to cover its urgent need for cadres in a very specific way. It is trying to attract qualified experts from our party, whose steadfastness it wants to test with offers to defect.

After the clear majority decision of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] not to fulfill the demand for the immediate self-dissolution of the party, SPD press spokesman Spittel, who has meanwhile resigned, made a statement during the weekend [20-21 January]. One does not believe that "the future of the SED-PDS is inseparably linked with the future of its members," he temptingly told SED-PDS members. And, in a very patriotic way, Gysi's party was asked "whether, in the interest of our country, it can take the responsibility any longer to continue tying the fate of important and competent figures to its own fate." Apparently placing the GDR's interests above all, Spittel announced that this country "cannot afford to renounce—out of wrongly understood party reasons and a sense of duty to a wrong cause—the participation of many people whose technical knowledge is needed in all fields in the shaping of this society now more than ever."

We certainly take seriously the attempt to entice cadres of the SED-PDS into other nets by siren songs, since it is not aimed at dispensable old careerists or new opportunists of all ranks and calibers or people who are not dyed in the wool and therefore bleach easily. There is no doubt that Mr. Spittel's appeal is mainly directed at honest and valuable people, who are worried about their jobs and professional prospects as a result of the discrimination against SED-PDS members that is starting to appear.

But what do the authors of the SPD statement really mean with their ambiguous thesis that the GDR cannot afford to renounce the participation of many competent people just because they are SED-PDS members? As if SED-PDS members—starting with the premier—were not making any contribution at present to keeping this country governable until 6 May and making it work democratically! Or should one interpret the statement to the effect that one can (and wants to) renounce the participation of those who belong to the SED-PDS? This would mean a ban on them exercising their professions, would it not?

FRG Politicians Support SPD in Campaign

AU0502122190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "FRG Politicians Help SPD To Prepare for Elections"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Well-known politicians of the FRG's Social Democratic Party [SPD] are supporting the GDR's SPD in its preparations for the elections on 6 May. As Steffen Reiche, member of the SPD Executive Committee, confirmed in a talk with ADN on Tuesday [23 January], former Hamburg Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi has taken over organizational tasks in Mecklenburg. Hans Krollmann, former Hesse land minister and candidate for the office of head of government in Wiesbaden, is working for the SPD in Brandenburg. Former Frankfurt (Main) Mayor Rudi Arndt wants to provide advice and action to the opposition party in Thuringia. In the presence of honorary SPD Chairman Willy Brandt and Ibrahim Boehme, executive secretary of the GDR SPD, the Thuringian SPD is to be founded again in Gotha on Saturday [27 January], where the SDAP [Social Democratic Workers Party] and the ADAV [General German Workers Association] were united with the Socialist Workers Party of Germany in 1875.

Modrow, Spaeth Discuss Unification Issues

LD0202171790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1535 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After a talk lasting over one hour in Berlin today, GDR Premier Hans Modrow and the

premier of the FRG Federal land of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Lothar Spaeth, agreed that the unification of German can only take place within the European framework.

Lothar Spaeth told the international press that pressure from the populace and the open frontier are forcing the unification process to speed up tremendously. There is no time to prepare this process over a period of years in a European framework. Progress toward finding solutions in the economic sphere, as well as on questions of currency, which concern the people and in the social sphere must be made quickly. Spaeth expressed his satisfaction at the chance to talk to the GDR premier about the plan he announced yesterday for the path to a united Germany before his talks with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Davos. In his opinion, Modrow's proposal is moving toward speeding up the process of coming together, There is no agreement on the question of neutrality, but one must try to find a way to make progress quickly with those elements capable of unification.

Hans Modrow made it clear that his proposal is an offer of dialogue. He assumed that with this proposal, the prerequsites are in place that bring the process forward in the future in a new and greater dimension than hitherto, by taking into consideration European interests and responsibilities and at the same time showing a great degree of responsibility between the two German states. In reply to a question on whether his plan is a personal venture or whether it has been coordinated with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism, he replied that it is not the resolution of a party but the initiative of a man who sees himself as having responsibility. He feels obliged to do it not simply because of the situation in his own country but also out of consideration for the neighbors who want the process of the coming together of the two German states to be clear, conspicuous, and confidence-building. Thus for him the question of neutrality is, above all, a question of agreeing on military neutrality.

Unity Plan Discussed

LD0202153690 Hamburg DPA in German 1354 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The pace of measures for the urgently necessary improvement in the situation of people in the GDR must, in the view of GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and the prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Lothar Spaeth, be "immensely speeded up." Spaeth told journalists at lunchtime after a one-hour exchange of views that he agreed with the GDR Government head that a strong surge of growing impatience was coming from the population. The talks in the economic sphere, with visible results, must progress rapidly.

With regard to reactions to his plan for the unity of Germany and his remarks on the neutrality of Germany, which had met with criticism in the West, Modrow said that it had been a very personal initiative that had not been coordinated with his party and still required "interpretation."

Modrow Meets With Kohl in Davos

LD0302143990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1347 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Davos (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl met for a talk at the Hotel Belvedere in Davos on Saturday afternoon, which is scheduled to last half an hour. He was hoping for a "good conversation" that would also touch on his concept for unity, Modrow said before the start of the talk. Kohl said that "everything" would be discussed. The prime minister arrived in Davos half an hour before the talk and had previously briefly attended a reception for the FRG delegation.

Modrow Briefs Press

LD0302185890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Davos (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl met in Davos today on the sidelines of the World Economic Forum for a talk lasting over an hour. At the end of the talk, they both described their discussion as an important stage on the way to their official meeting on 13 and 14 February in Bonn.

Hans Modrow told GDR journalists that the most important result of the talk was that both sides briefed each other openly, and thus it was possible to introduce considerations for their planned meeting based on realities. On reactions to this proposal for neutrality, Modrow said that we are at a juncture where no agreement will be found in dialogue during the immediate future. Much more important, however, is to take the part where agreement could be reached. One should address this point in the immediate future. With his recent proposals, he offered a thought to the dialogue. Until such a matter has been broadly considered, one could draw no other conclusion than to look at things first of all from this position.

It is being said in the media that here it is a matter of the joint interests of the GDR and the Soviet Union. It is known that he developed his considerations and thoughts after a certain trip and that here he could be taking an agreement as his starting point. Accordingly, these questions will be the subject of much broader debate. There would not be one opinion or another, but many opinions on this. Perhaps a consensus would emerge from this.

Modrow, Kohl Discuss Talks

LD0302221690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2152 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Davos (ADN)—The heads of government of the GDR and the FRG, Hans Modrow and Helmut Kohl, respectively, gave interviews to Second German Television [of the FRG] today in which they reaffirmed their wish for fast effective cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere. Hans Modrow stressed that with the advancing of the GDR elections and the formation of a government of national responsibility next Monday, there is no longer any reason to delay the specific solidarity aid announced by the FRG. It is time for the two sides to approach each other directly. His proposals for German unification were described by Modrow as ideas and offers of dialogue.

Federal Chancellor Kohl said that much has changed since submitting his 10-point-plan. In his view, there has been a "change of mood" in the GDR since the beginning of the year. He wants to make treaty-based agreements only after the elections and with the new government to be formed then. Now what matters is the people's economic situation. This requires immediate solidarity with the FRG. He will talk about this with Hans Modrow in Bonn in 10 days' time. He wants to assure people in the GDR that he understands their impatience and worry, and that the FRG will do all that is humanly possible to help them.

Modrow Comments on Neutrality, FRG Aid

AU0402155490 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Interview with Premier Hans Modrow by Klaus Presser and Klaus-Peter Siegloch in Davos on 3 February—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Now you are also in favor of German unity. However, are you not making this objective impossible to reach if you put forward German neutrality as a condition for unity?

[Modrow] I do not think that I make it impossible; I have only porposed an idea for dialogue. On an international level, a discussion has been initiated: Mr. Genscher tried to make an offer, he met with Mr. Baker, and both NATO and the Warsaw Pact are thinking about this matter. The USSR has its interests that must be respected. I said from the very beginning that I want to put forward my proposal for discussion...

[Reporter, interrupting] So this is not your last word, Mr. Modrow?

[Modrow] ...and, thus, I have initiated a discussion. It is my idea that I have brought forward. I cannot start on the assumption that I am making a proposal that is welcomed and supported by all sides. This is why I said from the very beginning that this was an idea for dialogue.

[Reporter] The situation in the GDR is becoming more and more critical. There is danger of economic chaos and strikes. Some 55,000 GDR citizens left for the West in January alone. Is the FRG Government doing everything it can and that is now necessary to help the GDR?

[Modrow] I hope that it will do it now. After all, you had to realize time and again through the recent commentaries that were made in the FRG that the speed of certain actions was always linked to the date of the elections. We will now have early elections, and I hope that next Monday the GDR People's Chamber will finally confirm 18 March as election day. Thus, I think that all arguments against us have been removed, and a government of national responsibility will be proposed to the People's Chamber on Monday. I believe that now is the time to approach one another more immediately and directly.

[Reporter] So you are saying that the FRG Government has so far not acted fast enough. However, have you been fast enough? Have you already offered Bonn a common currency? After all, if your citizens do not get Deutsche marks soon, many more of them will leave.

[Modrow] This question is included in my set of fundamental thoughts, and both sides have the possibility to achieve something in this field because it does not only depend on one side. We have made our offers.

[Reporter] A week from Tuesday you will go to Bonn. Will you conclude an agreement in this meeting that, as of then, the Deutsche mark will be legal tender in the GDR?

[Modrow] I think that such fundamental problems cannot be discussed at length and decided within 2 weeks. All these questions must not be discussed separately from the overall economic concept. However, it is true that within this concept they do have their place and their importance.

[Reporter] So it is about time to discuss this matter?

[Modrow] We certainly must now discuss the overall concept.

[Reporter] If the citizens in your country hear the term overall concept on television, they will say that it is going to take another couple of months before anything changes.

[Modrow] I think that all GDR citizens must be aware of the fact that problems cannot be solved within two days. All GDR citizens must also understand that we must prepare and make decisions rapidly, but also cautiously.

[Reporter] Can you specify the most important and most urgent points of this overall economic concept that have to be decided quickly together with Bonn?

[Modrow] I think that we must quickly come to an understanding with Bonn that everything that is necessary for direct economic support for the GDR must now be discussed and decided together.

[Reporter] Can you give as a few examples in this respect?

[Modrow] Well, we start out from the assumption that we will not only receive loans but real solidarity and support, which the federal chancellor mentioned in Dresden. This has now reached a stage in which it must be deepened and clarified.

[Reporter] Thus, you are referring to state support, whereas Helmut Kohl has just said that the German industrial sector would take care of it. If Siemens were now to go to Dresden, and Bayer to Bitterfeld, would they be able to immediately get started there?

[Modrow] Representatives of major enterprises met with and talked to directors of combines in Rahnsdorf a few weeks ago. Mr. Koch from the steel industry has mentioned it once again here in Davos that he will meet with Mr. Singhuber from our side so that concrete steps can be concluded in the steel industry. So the pace is getting faster.

[Reporter] Following the 18 March elections, your party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, will probably no longer head the government. What will Hans Modrow do then?

[Modrow] This is a question about which Hans Modrow is thinking himself and which has to be decided by time. I cannot decide this but the elections will, and I will see what I will do after 18 March.

[Reporter] Can you imagine leading the life of a pensioner?

[Modrow] Right now I cannot, but when one is beyond the age of 62, such a question may arise. Nevertheless, this is not what really worries me today. If one is in a responsible position, thinking about politics also remains part of one's thoughts concerning the future.

[Reporter] Now that we are discussing predictions, when do you think the first common election of all Germans will be held?

[Modrow] You expect me to make a prediction, but all I can say is that it will depend on the responsibility with which the Germans see themselves in the European context. After all, everything that we are tackling now together must be seen from the viewpoint of responsibility for peace and Europe. I believe that the peoples of Europe will also want to understand our pace. This is what they expect from us.

Modrow Says Neutrality 'Not a Condition'

LD0402143890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1300 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Davos (ADN)—The neutrality of a united Germany is not a condition but a proposal for dialogue, proceeding from the premise that the interests of the GDR and her Eastern neighbors demand such a concept. Prime Minister Hans Modrow stated this on Swiss Radio on Sunday. The international response to his proposal had made clear that much still had to be considered regarding the existing possibilities. Modrow referred to FRG Foreign Minister Genscher's offer that the FRG remain in NATO and that the GDR could be a territory not included in any of the blocs.

The pressure from the street had a considerable influence on the political events in the GDR, Modrow said. However, he proceeded from the premise that with the 18 March elections all participating forces would expound their policies so that a debate with the citizens would come about, which in turn would lead to political stability. He had tried to make Federal Chancellor Kohl in Davos on Saturday aware of the fact and to tell him that the two German states should bear responsibility for this process. He hopes that in this way it will be possible to develop in each individual a sense of responsibility for himself and the whole matter. Everybody will have to realize that this issue is not just a problem of the Germans in the two states, but that all the neighbors, that Europe to, are affected.

Asked about admitting the Deutsche mark as a parallel currency in the GDR, Modrow said that at the moment there exists a very unhealthy competition. A direct exchange rate of 1:3 would be acceptable. However, in the open market, the exchange is 1:7 and 1:8. This exchange rate does not reflect the true performance of the people on both sides. The rich Federal Republic is being subsidized by the GDR when the FRG media report that good and cheap goods can be had in the GDR; these are appeals that go in the wrong direction. It is therefore necessary that this issue be thoroughly discussed by both states and governments.

Many of the problems of harmonizing the law were included in his reflections, the head of government emphasized. In this respect, issues of international law must be clarified. Thus, in 1945 big estate owners on GDR territory had been disowned, farmers had formed cooperatives. Their ground and soil were the guarantees for their livelihood. Here too, agreement must be arrived at which requires a responsible approach.

Modrow answered the question about a sellout of the GDR as follows: He assumes that the Germans will move closer toward each other, and if previously much had been said in the FRG about responsibility for the other part of Germany, then he expects a process to come about which take on a different character from the one taking place today in the market development with other

CEMA states. Also in this respect, the Germans should stand by one another and examine in this way what can be done.

FRG's Genscher Discusses Unification Issues

LD0502024590 East Berlin Television Service in German 1845 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by corespondent Juergen Schmidt on the "Aktuelle Kamera" news bulletin; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Schmidt] Foreign minister, various proposals on German unity are on the table, submitted by Helmut Kohl and by Hans Modrow. What is your position on this issue?

[Genscher] The Federal Government seeks the way toward German unity within a European framework, which is why we advocate a CSCE summit, that is to bring about a stable partnership between East and West. After all, we want the path to German unity to create greater stability in Europe as a whole, and so bring Europe closer together. We consider it a matter of great urgency for such a summit conference to be held this year. I am very glad to agree with my U.S. counterpart, James Baker, in this respect. What is now important is to ease the way by advancing drastic steps in disarmament to clear the obstacles resulting from the large military potentials amassed in both parts of Germany.

[Schmidt] The Modrow proposal has sparked discussions because of the issue of German neutrality. What is your view on that issue?

[Genscher] I think the term neutrality leads us back to the times before the signing of the CSCE Final Act. Since then we have been trying not to embark on solitary ways but instead to find cooperative solutions and a joint European way. And it is that joint European way that we wish to hold onto.

[Schmidt] You are a well-known advocate of disarmament policy in Europe. How confident are you that disarmament will make substantial progress in the coming years, perhaps because of the changes under way in Germany?

[Genscher] I am very sure that we will see a first agreement on conventional disarmament during this year. A second one will follow very soon then. The two superpowers will agree on cutting their strategic nuclear weapons potentials. Within this year as well, we intend to agree on a global ban on chemical weapons. We now have to remove everything that created such a heavy burden in the past and focus our energies on uniting Europe and bringing Germany together and on jointly establishing what is to be established.

[Schmidt] How would you fend off Polish anxieties?

[Genscher] I believe that the two German states would be well-advised in the wake of the People's Chamber elections to have their parliaments and governments issue a binding declaration to the effect that we Germans are making no territorial claims whatsoever vis-a-vis any of our neighbors, including Poland.

[Schmidt] One last question that everybody has been asked in this context. How long will it take to bring the two German states together?

[Genscher] I have always taken the view that history's imagination must not be strapped in a straitjacket. Many people have already had to make corrections to their schedules and predictions because the will of the people has proved to be stronger than many a blueprint conceived at some office desk. What is important now, I think, is that we politicians create a stable framework for the most natural thing in the world to happen: that one people can live within one state and that one continent can coexist without borders, which is to say that all Europeans can meet and work together the way they want to and can live in peace.

[Schmidt] Will it be before the year 2000?

[Genscher] I have already said that we do not want to make any predictions as to the time it will take because I do not like the idea of having to correct myself afterward.

[Schmidt] Thank you very much.

Gysi Discusses Talks With Gorbachev

AU0202193090 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Report by Raimund Loew in Moscow]

[Text] Hans Modrow's Germany policy initiative was one of the topics discussed by Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], and USSR party-state leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow.

Gregor Gysi said that solving the German question is a task that history has set for us now, and Mikhail Gorbachev fully agreed with this assessment. However, it must be solved by well-considered steps and in an organized way, but not under pressure from the streets. Gorbachev warned about rash steps; the stability of Europe is equally important for him.

Gysi and his SED-PDS support the phased plan submitted by their fellow party member, Prime Minister Modrow, even though they have stressed different aspects in this respect. According to Gysi, above all in the last stage, once unification has been concluded, the new German state should not only be neutral; it should even be demilitarized. NATO and the Warsaw Pact would hardly unite in the near future, he says. Unless we

want a pact border to run across a future single German state, neutralization and demilitarization are inevitable, says Gysi.

The East German party leader stressed that his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev were marked by warmth. After relations between the SED and the CPSU (?had cooled) under the old leadership, a fresh start has been made now. Asked where he sees special difficulties in the Soviet process, Gysi says spontaneously that it depends on how difficult it is to renew an apparatus; however, fortunately the dimensions in the GDR are much smaller.

Modrow Meets Poland's Jaruzelski in Davos

LD0402151290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1439 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Davos (ADN)—Poland's head of state, Wojciech Jaruzelski, and GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, at a meeting on the sidelines of the World Economic Forum in Davos on Sunday, have affirmed the continuation of their two countries' cooperation in a constructive spirit. Jaruzelski evinced great interest in the development of German-German relations within the framework of the European Process in the talk. He expressed the hope that the interests of the neighbors of the Germans would also be safeguarded in the future. The Oder-Neisse frontier should not become a subject of discussion.

Hans Modrow met for talks in Davos on the same day with the Swiss federal councillors Rene Felber (Head of Federal Department of Foreign Affairs) and Jean-Pascal Delamuraz (head of Federal Department of Public Economy).

Poles, Germans in GDR Sign Statement on 1989

LD0302214390 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 3—A group of signatories to a joint statement by Poles and Germans from the GDR say that the year 1989, the 50th from the outbreak of World War II, ended for countries of Central Europe in their striving to overcome the disastrous heritage of foreign and their own authoritarian oppression. Under the round table decisions, the first partially free elections were held in Poland and the non-communist government was formed.

In the GDR, a strong popular movement toppled the power of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leadership. Together with the opening of the border between the two German states, a policy of the almost 30-year separation, based on the division of our continent, finally collapsed.

In this situation, both from the point of view of the past and the future and with regard to the Polish-German relations, Poland was the first victim that offered political, military and civilian resistance to the national-socialist policy. After defeating Poland and after partitioning it under the provisions of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and together with the additional secret clause attached to it, the regime of brutal terror was imposed. Hitler's goal was to "destroy Poland" and to "annihilate its vital forces." The knowledge about this cannot be forgotten and should arouse the feelings of shame and regret in every German, the statement said.

The Odra and Nysa [Oder, Neisse] border cannot be questioned and be the object of any actions to change or violate it. Like all other borders in Europe, this border should unite, rather than divide, Poles and Germans, say signatories to the statement.

Next, they go on to stress that in the current situation it is necessary to put relations between Poland and the GDR on a new foundation and this is a task for democratic forces in both countries.

The quality of Polish-German neighbourhood has particular significance in the striving for united Europe that will unite East and West. Observance of human rights in all their aspects is a decisive guarantee for freedom and peace. Changes in Central and Eastern Europe provide today a historic opportunity to approximate this goal.

Identifying ourselves with fundamental values that in the past left their imprint on the humane substance of European culture and civilization, we want to come out for democratic renewal that guarantees that right to dignified life to all people and nations, says the statement signed on the Polish part by 39 and on the GDR by 28 signatories.

Agreement Reached on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD0202182790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Talks between Hungarian and Soviet experts on the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops have concluded in Budapest. Elemer Csak reports:

[Csak] After initial encouraging signs, the discussions appeared to come to a standstill in the final round. Detailed coordination work followed, and, in the end, the experts left the negotiating table late in the afternoon with a completed work document and a press statement in their hands.

The latter states, among other things, that under the leadership of Ferenc Somogyi, Hungarian state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ivan Aboimov, Soviet deputy foreign minister, talks were held for 2 days on the complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. The two delegations agreed that the troop withdrawal—and I reiterate, the complete troop withdrawal—will be carried out within the shortest time possible, on the basis of an intergovernment agreement.

The sides also agreed that the coordinating talks on the pace of the troop withdrawal would be further continued. Otherwise, as the Soviet deputy foreign minister said in response to my question, one of the biggest problems is that it is necessary to provide for dwellings, and, in part, jobs, for the soldiers who leave, and it is necessary to find a solution for the schooling of the children of those who have families. Obviously, the question of the extent to which the roads and railways can be burdened with the vehicles, tanks, and other technology to be withdrawn, when this can be done, and how the reloading should be scheduled at the border-stations which otherwise are extremely crowded, is no simple task either. All these things must be taken into account when the experts work out the timetable for troop withdrawal.

With regard to the final withdrawal of the units of the Soviet Army, it appears that there is no obstacle in principle to this. That is, the Soviet side shares the Hungarian standpoint that militarily nothing justifies the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary.

At the conclusion of the talks, Deputy Foreign Minister Aboimov was received by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati held a separate discussion with Colonel-General Omelichev, Soviet chief of general staff [title as heard].

Communique on Talks

LD0202211690 Budapest MTI in English 1755 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has forwarded the following communique to MTI:

On the basis of agreements between the governments of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Hungary, talks were held in Budapest on February 1 and 2, 1990. The Hungarian delegation was led by Ferenc Somogyi, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, the Soviet by Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov. The delegations held talks about the full withdrawal of Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Hungary.

In the course of the talks the sides set forth their position, and agreed that the withdrawal of Soviet troops will be carried out on the basis of an inter-governmental agreement to be concluded within the shortest possible time. The sides agreed to continue talks related to the agreement, and at working out the timetable for the pull-out. The talks were held in an objective, constructive atmosphere.

Gyula Horn, foreign minister of the Republic of Hungary, met Ivan Aboimov. Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence of the Republic of Hungary, met Colonel General Bronislav Omelichev, first deputy of the Chief of Staff of the Soviet Army.

Negotiators on Troop Withdrawal

LD0402211090 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Interview with Hungarian State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi; Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, Hungarian chief of general staff; and Ivan Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister by unidentified reporter on "The Week" program; date and place not given—recorded; Aboimov speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi, you have conferred on complete troop withdrawal and reached an agreement that the schedule of the withdrawal is to be finalized at the government level, and, what is more, within the shortest possible time. What is the shortest possible time?

[Somogyi] In practice, starting from now, we shall clarify, within the framework of continuous expert discussions, all the circumstances and viewpoints that have to be taken into consideration in order to work out a schedule for the complete troop withdrawal, on the basis of which this withdrawal can be carried out in settled conditions and, hopefully, within the timeframe proposed by us. To be specific, hopefully this will take place before the end of this year or next year, at the latest.

[Reporter] This series of discussions has paved the way for another one. Why is there so much preparation?

[Somogyi] If we want—and we do want—the troop withdrawal to occur amid settled conditions, then we have to take into consideration numerous factors such as, for example, the fact that rail transportation, which is the number one method of transportation that comes into question, should be organized in such a way that it

should not impede normal civilian deliveries, either in passenger transport or freight transport.

[Reporter] I would like to ask one more question about the scheduling: Was it the combined effect of such a kind of domestic necessity or international factors which made it possible or necessary for the Hungarian Government to put complete withdrawal on the agenda precisely at this time?

[Somogyi] It was at this point that it became clear that those earlier concepts, those earlier analyses, which caused the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary had beome outmoded.

[Reporter] Half seriously, half in jest, people generally say that disarmament always costs a lot, at least in the first phase. What will be done with the equipment, installations, building, or—this is the sort of thing I was thinking about—the gasoline which the Soviet troops might leave here? Will we have to pay for these?

[Somogyi] During the discussions, we offered the possibility for examination of these questions in order to see how we could settle this issue. Our Soviet negotiating partners asked for patience in this connection. They still have to think it through. They plan to take the bulk of their materials home. They will certainly offer us certain equipment. Naturally, we shall have to compensate them for this equipment, these materials.

[Reporter] If I remember correctly, Mr. State Secretary, one of your most recent statements noted that the troop withdrawal does not affect our membership in the Warsaw Pact. But I, a layman, think that it does nevertheless affect the distribution of military roles within the Warsaw Pact, because the USSR is to withdraw 50,000 troops and a large amount of technology from our country.

[Somogyi] Our leaving the Warsaw Pact is, naturally, not a precondition for the complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops, just as the cessation of our membership is not necessarily a consequence of the complete withdrawal.

[Reporter] And from a military viewpoint?

[Borsits] From the military viewpoint, it is likewise not justified that the Soviet troops remain here. The basic function of the Hungarian People's Army is to reliably protect the country's borders, both on land and in the air, and to defend our country.

[Reporter] Do we have adequate equipment? Do we have, or shall we have, expensive planes which will be able to perform this task?

[Borsits] We hope that at a later date we shall be able to create the conditions in order to be able to replace our existing equipment, to the extent possible, with more modern technology. In my judgment, we cannot plan this now but perhaps will be able to within a few years.

[Reporter] It would appear that by now it is no problem to make a political decision about troop withdrawal. But how ready is the Soviet Union to take this step?

[Aboimov] The essence of the Soviet Union's principled stand with regard to the troops stationed on foreign territory is that by the year 2000—as our leaders have on more than one occasion stressed —we must completely withdraw our troops from foreign territories. As for the question of how ready the Soviet Union is at this moment for the withdrawal of those military units temporarily stationed in Hungary, we have reached agreement in Budapest. This will have to be set down in an intergovernmental agreement and an appropriate schedule worked out.

Naturally, the logistics of moving such a large military unit is accompanied by particular difficulties. We have exchanged views on precisely this question of how we should set about the practical realization of this work. In our opinion, thorough work will have to be performed in the Soviet Union as well; the appropriate infrastructure will have to be created to accommodate the military units which are to be withdrawn from Hungary. We cannot ignore the human factor either. I would like to recall the fact that among the soldiers currently fulfilling their duty in Hungary are many military officers' families which, for instance, do not have permanent homes in the Soviet Union. Apart from this, there are also many children in these families. We have to build day nurseries and nursery schools; further, we also have to ponder what to do with the schoolchildren.

At the discussions, we agreed, as I have already mentioned, on the text of the necessary intergovernmental agreement. We have created a working group to elaborate on financial and material details. I believe that a decision will be reached by paying attention to all the possibilities at the disposal of the two sides as to the final deadline of the troop withdrawal.

[Reporter] And what will be the fate of the troops themselves? From time to time we hear and read accusations with regard to the Soviet Union that reductions of this nature in fact mean only a regrouping of troops.

[Aboimov] Look, at present it is difficult for me to say anything specific. I would just like to note that The Soviet Union is already carrying out unilateral Armed Forces reductions. The extent of the reductions announced by us numbers 500,000. With regard to numbers, this is equal to the West German Bundeswehr. Therefore, I believe that in light of the Vienna agreement, which we hope will be realized and the appropriate document signed, further reductions would take place by mutual agreement. I do not exclude the possibility that these reductions might also affect those military units which will be withdrawn from Hungary's territory. But we shall only be able to judge this more objectively after agreement is reached in Vienna.

Horn on Troop Withdrawal

LD0402160190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0730 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Jozsef P. Szabo on the "World Clock" program; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Szabo] The first edition of "World Clock" goes out at the end of the week when Hungarian-Soviet negotiations have begun on the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

[Horn] And what is more—if I wanted to formulate it very precisely—a truly substantive phase of the negotiations has begun. I too have held negotiations with Deputy Minister Aboimov.

Well, a precise timetable to determine the order, the calendar of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, has been adopted. Such a timetable had not existed until now; there had only been [agreements] extending only to certain partial areas. Now a workplan or timetable is being prepared for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops stationed here. The other thing is that we wish to lay this down in an intergovernmental agreement within, at the maximum, a few weeks.

The withdrawal, it must be said, is a very complex question from the point of view that appropriate technical conditions must exist. What do I have in mind? I must have assurance that the withdrawal would not overburden or cause serious delays in our already crowded roads. It is well known that the Zahony-Csop railway stations or focal points are crowded as it is. Thus, the car must be dispatched in such a way that there [on the Soviet side] it should be possible to receive in an appropriate rhythm the trains coming from Zahony. What is more, a large proportion of the Soviet military units to be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia concentrates on this station. In other words, the elaboration of such technical details will be worked out by experts beginning on Monday, i.e., 5 February. What is fundamental for me is the complete readiness of the Soviet political and military leadership to withdraw their troops without residue.

[Szabo] We have received news this past week about the possibility of opening the [Hungarian] Chief Consulate in Cluj. I have read in your recent statement that even in your view the Hungarian-Romanian negotiations proceed haltingly. Is it not possible that we have had excessive illusions regarding today's regime in Romania?

[Horn] There are two things. One is that it [the Romanian leadership] must struggle with many other very difficult tasks. The other is that it is surrounded by the old apparatus, with which we have had very unfavorable experiences in the past. Thus, a kind of resistence must be overcome. [passage omitted: Horn lists the proposals Hungary put on the table for closer relations, including radio and television cooperation]

Somogyi Forsees Withdrawal 'This Year'

LD0202221590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The Hungarian-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops ended today. [passage omitted] Peter Zentay has given an interview to Ferenc Somogyi. We now quote just one sentence from the deputy minister [as heard], which predicts the time of the troop withdrawal.

[Begin Somogyi recording] My conviction is still that our formulation, according to which the troop withdrawal can take place this year, or at the latest next year, is realistic, and on the basis of my knowledge now, too, I say that this can be realized.

Somogyi on Soviet Troop Talks

LD0302144390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Telephone interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi by Peter Zentay on 2 February—recorded]

[Text] [Somogyi] The fact that these negotiations took place at this time and that as a result of the negotiations we agreed on the further continuation of the talks is in itself very significant.

Realistically speaking, from these first experts' talks, we could not have expected anything other than that the two sides would express their position in detail on problems connected with the complete withdrawal of troops. Apart from this, such talks should determine the circumstances and points of view which must be taken into account when we work out the complete timetable for the troop withdrawal and a timetable on the basis of which the complete withdrawal can take place within the shortest possible time, in an ordered fashion.

[Zentay] Tell me, what points of view have to be taken into consideration, what kinds of details are we talking about here?

[Somogyi] For example, we have to take into account that the withdrawal of troops should take place in such a way that there will be no damage to Hungarian roads—thus, we will basically use the railways as the mode of transportation—and in such a way that the troop withdrawals do not hinder the course of civilian transportation, either passenger or freight transport. Also, we should take into account the fact that it is a question of the departure from Hungary of 50,000 soldiers and their families and their resettlement in the Soviet Union. We should take into account the financial questions which arise, questions of accounting, during the course of the stay here, such as compensation for the installations left here.

[Zentay] I do not understand exactly, who owes whom?

[Somogyi] At the moment, nobody owes anything to anybody, for it is a question of once the Soviet troops have left the country, then perhaps the various organs of the Hungarian Republic will make use of installations which they have built, and which could be useful for us, in return for some kind of compensation.

[Zentay] So, payment will have to be made for those installations which they have built in Hungary?

[Somogyi] For that part of those which we can [word indistinct] make use of.

[Zentay] What was your impression about the attitude of the Soviet negotiating delegation? The Soviets must after all feel pressured, since in Hungary the leaders declared well in advance that they want them to pull out this year or at the latest by the beginning of next year. In Czechoslovakia they would like to see the Soviet troops depart almost immediately. At the same time, U.S. President George Bush has come forward with a proposal which really could have had the effect of a surprise, too, if you like, for the Soviets. Thus, the Soviet delegation sat down at the negotiating table in rather a difficult psychological situation, did they not?

[Somogyi] I think that the official Hungarian statements—and I would emphasize the adjective official here—did not have the nature of an ultimatum. My conviction is still that our formulation, according to which the troop withdrawal can take place this year, or at the latest next year, is realistic, and, on the basis of my knowledge now, too, I say that this can be realized.

As for U.S. President Bush's proposal, to a certain extent, this really had the effect of a surprise. At the same time, it must also be said that it was more or less in the air. I would refer only to the fact that two weeks ago in Vienna, the Hungarian representation contributed at the negotiating forum of the 23, the Hungarian stance on precisely this question stated that the ceiling, after the signing of the agreements, for the stationing of foreign troops must be determined at a significantly lower level than the 275,000 figure at the negotiating table at that time.

[Zentay] This Hungarian proposal did not get publicity in the Hungarian press. One wonders whether the Hungarians and Americans had coordinated, but I suppose there was no question of this.

[Somogyi] No there was no question of this. I would explain it rather by the fact that, taking into account that a significant part of my aforementioned contribution dealt with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, and the Vienna aspects of this question, the local press—I think understandably—primarily devoted attention to this, and the press missed the part of the speech which formulated a new Hungarian stance on other questions on the agenda of the Vienna talks.

Szokai, USSR's Aboimov Discuss Relations

LD0202212690 Budapest MTI in English 1923 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 2 (mti)—Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai on Friday [2 February] met Ivan Aboimov, deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, the leader of the Soviet delegation to the talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

The deputy foreign ministers reviewed current matters in the relation between the two countries. Discussions were held on the renewal of the valid bilateral contracts, the transfer of documents related to the Hungarian events in 1956 which are in the Soviet Union, and on the switch over to new accounting in trade turnover.

Views were exchanged on the experiences of Border-zone cooperation, and the planned opening of the Hungarian consulate in Uzhgorod. Talks were held about enlivening direct relations between the varous parties, organizations and counties, and on renewing he operational mechanism of the Warsaw Treaty.

There was full agreement between the sides in the need to jointly settle all issues that are perhaps evaluated differently, and which arise in the relations between the two countries, in a way that it not cause damage to, and, if possible, further intensify the good neighbourly cooperation between Hungary and the Soviet Union.

Szuros on Gorbachev's 'Difficult Situation'

LD0402143490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0730 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Statement by President Matyas Szuros on the "World Clock" international affairs program; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] I expect that in 1990, favorable processes will continue and, what is more, will strengthen. It is very important for the rapproachement between the two superpowers to deepen further. An interesting historical process is unfolding before our eyes.

Everybody can see that Gorbachev and his politics have resulted in an extraordinarily difficult situation. He would need to resolve or at least handle correctly three issues that demand from him almost inhuman efforts. These are briefly: Will he be able to put the Soviet economy on the path of reforms? Will he be able to handle correctly the nationality, national minority situation? Will he be able to direct the huge party and state apparatus, the aktiv of several millions which determine the politics of the Soviet Union onto the path of new thinking? [passage omitted on Gorbachev receiving moral, political support from Bush and Mitterand] We Hungarians are interested in Gorbachev's succeeding, that is, that he is successful in overcoming this difficulty, which extends even to his own position.

On the other hand, it appears—at least this is the conclusion I draw from the declaration of Teng Hsiao Ping—that from the East, from certain circles, the conservative forces of the Soviet Union receive support. It is an interesting global political situation. Well, it is this into which Central Europe must be placed—for the greatest series of events of 1989 took place here. This will transcend—in fact it has already done so effectively this year—that is, such changes will unfold which will consolidate, open up, the democratic processes.

Hungary stands in the vanguard of this. We have up to now been able to weigh moral and political support for the Gorbachevian politics; this resurgence could not have taken place in Hungary if Gorbachev had not existed, if the 27th Congress had not taken place at the time. [passage omitted reviewing East European reform processes, recalling his talks with Mitterrand and Havel on German reunification]

USSR Envoy Visits Alliance of Free Democrats

LD2501233990 Budapest MTI in English 1550 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, visited the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) on Thursday.

AFD executives Miklos Haraszti, Imre Mecs and Miklos Szabo told the ambassador about the home and foreign policy concepts of the free democrats.

In the course of the two-hour discussion, the ambassador set out the Soviet Union's foreign policy principles with particular respect to the relation towards the neighbouring countries and the Europe policy.

Issues in Soviet-Hungarian good neighbourly relations which are still open were also reviewed at the meeting.

Lorincz Explains Army Reductions Criteria

LD0202052890 Budapest MTI in English 2244 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—The priority of the defensive character, improvement of quality—these are the two guiding principles of the planned staff reduction and Armed Forces reform of the Hungarian Peoples Army, said Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz, commander of the Hungarian Peoples Army, at a press conference on Thursday in Papa, on the occasion of an inspection held at the local air division.

Present at the inspection was Lieutenant General Janos Stock, head of the air defence and flight group of the Hungarian Peoples Army. Special attention was given to the crash of the MiG-23 training plane on January 26, which claimed two lives.

Lieutenant General Lorincz told MTI that the expert investigtion is still in progress, thus a precise reconstruction of what happened is not available as yet. MiG-23 type aircraft are not allowed to take off until the investigation is completed.

With respect to the staff reduction, it was said this will be realized gradually by the end of 1992, by far-reachingly taking human points of view into consideration. Various alternatives will be offered to those affected by the reduction, and they will be able to choose between other military or civilian jobs, or will be able to retire with age exemption.

The measure, under which two-thirds fewer students will be accepted to the military officers schools, also serves staff reduction.

Spokesman on Council of Ministers 2 Feb Session

LD0202213190 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 2 (MTI)—The agenda of the government session on Friday, February 2 included, among others, the issue of setting up the new national security service, said Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok. He said that with an earlier decision, government has withdrawn the national security matters from the scope of authority of the Ministry of the Interior, and has placed this directly under the direction of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. To fulfil this task, the prime minister has set up a Security Policy College, with a licence until June 1990. The college is headed by the personal envoy of the prime minister, Miklos Raft, who earlier was president of the Office of the Council of Ministers. Its members include one leading official each of the Ministries of Finance, the Interior, the Foreign Ministry, and the National Planning Office.

The government did not hold consultations wilth the opposition in this matter, the spokesman said, in answer to a question.

Discussions were also held about transforming the (semi-military) Hungarian Defence Federation (MHSZ), which is under the scope of authority of the Ministry of Defence, into a social organization. MHSZ currently has 340,000 members, its assets are valued at 5,000 million forints, and it receives annual state subsidies of 800 to 900 million forints. As a social organization, it could no longer count on state support, Bajnok said.

The government did not approve the report on the salaries of leading state officials, which parliament did not place on its agenda in spite of the government's request. Referring to the country's grave financial situation, and the deteriorating living standard of the population, the government members rejected the proposal on raising their wages.

Horn Urges Resistance of Romanian Nationalism

LD0202152890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Bonn correspondent Gyorgy Bernat dispatch]

[Text] Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has asked the Romanian leadership to stem the tide of revived Romanian nationalism and to restore the rights of the Hungarian, German, and Serb minorities.

I read this information in an interview with the Hungarian foreign minister in today's FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG. According to this, Gyula Horn explained his request by saying that not only is the struggle against Romanian nationalism of vital importance in relations with Hungary, Yugoslavia, or the Federal Republic, at least as important is the point that the unclarified nationality rights could destabilize Romanian domestic policy and rob the Bucharest leadership of its credibility.

Horn Stresses Need for New Markets

LD2401155890 Budapest MTI in English 1245 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 24, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian economy, including the agricultural sector, will not be able to surmount the present difficulties it is in if no new sales oportunities open up for it on markets of economically-developed countries, Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister for foreign affairs, said at an international experts' conference held in Budapest on questions of agrarian production and landed property.

Mr Horn said he sees the EC decision—effective from January 1, 1990, and which grants remarkable facilitations for the sale of Hungarian export products—as vital.

The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs also considers it important to stress that agriculture, the most significant branch of the Hungarian economy as far as hard-currency returns are concerned, also needs additional funds for production.

He added that agricultural production must be given priority so that it can regain the vigour it had at the end of the 60s, when the Hungarian cooperative model was an example to Central-Eastern European and other countries.

Though no final figures are available for the whole of 1989 as yet, it is certain that Hungary's agriculture and food industry upped their hard-currency trade surplus by 100 million dollars to 354 million in the first six months of 1989 as against the corresponding figure for the previous year.

At the end of 1988, the balance surplus was 949 million USD.

Horn on HSP Board Meeting, Elections

LD2701212890 Budapest MTI in English 1847 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—'The home political situation is burdened with grave tensions, and extreme manifestations. The cross-fire of the attacks is mainly aimed at the new left-wing, and particularly its core, the Hungarian Socialist Party'. This was the conclusion reached at the session of the National Board of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), held in Budapest on Saturday. Gyula Horn, member of the Presidium, informed representatives of the press about the session of the board.

With respect to the elections, the HSP is to enter its own candidate in all individual constituencies, and 27 Socialist Party candidates have already acquired the 750 recommendation slips needed.

The National Board took a stand in the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. The communique issued on this analyzes the favourable, European processes, and notes: In accordance with its defence doctrine, the renewing Hungarian People's Army is capable of protecting the country, of guaranteeing the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Hungary. On the basis of this, the HSP is of the opinion that the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary is not justified either from the political, or the military aspect. The Socialist thus suport the bi- and multilateral steps of the government which aim at the earliest possible full withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. The party expresses its hope that an agreement will be reached without delay at the talks on the concrete timetable for the pull- out to be carried out in an orderly manner.

In answer to a question, Horn was of the opinion this could hopefully take place already this year.

The troop withdrawal is fully in step with the wish of the Hungarian people, with its firm and just demand for national sovereignty, with the modern approach to international security, and with the new political way of thinking.

Although the question was not directly related to the session of the National Board, Gyula Horn gave a principal answer - in view of his functions as foreign minister - to the anxiety that sharpening nationalism can be experienced in Romania. The politician referred to the recent remarks of Romanian President Ion Iliescu, according to which separatist efforts have cropped up in Translyvania. As opposed to this, Horn stressed he had no information about efforts of this kind. In his view, threatening with separatism is unrealistic.

The intensification of Romanian nationalism seems more dangerous, looking at it from Hungary. Horn voiced his hope that the agreements outlined at the meetings between the Hungarian and Romanian leaders directly after the victory of the revolution, will be

realized. What would now be needed is for the declarations about placing relations on new bases to finally be transplanted into reality. 'Actions are needed now, instead of words', he said.

[Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 2100 GMT on 27 January broadcasts a similar report, but adds the following information: "The National Board was in agreement that a unified stand is necessary in basic matters. However, the HSP does not want to cooperate with any party—not with the MSZMP (Hungarian Socialist Workers Party)—in the elections." "The HSP is fielding its candidates on national and Budapest party lists, and the preparation of the national list is under way. What is certain up to now is that Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, Rezso Nyers, Gyula Horn, and Matyas Szuros will be on this list."]

HSP Issues Statement Condemning Extremism

AU2401143990 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Jan 90 p 3

[Statement issued by the Hungarian Socialist Party—date and place not given]

[Text] Compatriots! The peaceful transition is threatened: selfish interests are surfacing above national interests. Passions are being incited. We are afraid that the free elections will not really be free and will not create real social peace. Extremism is gaining ground and is affecting the power that is creating public opinion, while the sober forces of our society seem to be feeble in counteracting the extremists. The opportunity for economic development is threatened.

Today all forces are being called upon to unite against socialism. There are some ideas that can only be damaged but not destroyed: the ideas of freedom, justice, equality, and solidarity. If these ideas are lost, it is not socialism that will disappear, but everything that is progressive in the history of the Hungarian people and of Europe.

A terrible burden is weighing heavily on the public. The demand to discard everything that has happened in Hungary since 1945 is becoming hysterical. A whole era is being put on trial, an era whose crimes are really unforgivable because, among other things, they have offended ideals. However, we are not the heirs of these crimes, but the heirs of these ideals. We know that we must prove this, and we are ready to do so in the spirit of Petofi, Ady, and Attila Jozsef [Hungarian poets].

While the extremists speak of human rights, free elections, and pure democracy, they also call for collective responsibility. A "ritual murder" is again in the offing against almost 1 million former party members and against a lot more sympathizers. It is not ourselves that we are defending, but the country which has suffered and shed blood to make Hungary a forerunner in the socialist camp in the areas of prosperity, freedom, and human rights.

Hungary is preparing for free elections. Democracy involves not only laws and rules, but also a humane attitude, balanced mood, and life without fear. Last, but not least, it also involves tolerance of a different way of thinking and respect for different opinions. We sat down at the national roundtable with various organizations in our society in order to achieve restructuring on a democratic basis. We have done everything we could in order to make the agreements we reached into law. This was our duty, and not a case of boasting or privilege. Our honesty should not be questioned.

We are facing long months that will test people and honesty. We are sinking in our debts, and even more in our awareness of debt, which is now presented as the end of the world. We do not want to conceal our difficulties or to oppose the inevitable measures. We are against presenting an economic situation as a national disaster, a situation which several states in the world have succeeded in emerging from over the course of a few years.

The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] again declares its stand for equality irrespective of origin, race, sex, profession, and religious belief, and its stand against egalitarianism. It declares its stand for equal rights for women, a genuine respect for older people, the guarantee of conditions for young people starting their careers and of the opportunities to assert themselves, and the rights of the poor. The HSP also declares its support for making sure that people who are able to produce several times the average amount of products should be paid not only a few cents more. The HSP declares its stand for talent, entrepreneurial spirit, diligence, and honest work.

It is not true that we are lagging behind in this region of Central Europe. We Hungarian socialists who seek an individual way were among the first to fight for the freedom, prosperity, and European affiliation of this region. In Hungary the basis for a market economy and a democratic constitutional order has already emerged.

We are making this statement to the country because we believe that the peaceful and democratic restructuring and public calm are threatened today by the omnipotence of party interests, ignoble methods uncommon to democracy, and by the alarming decay of public order, public security, and public morals. Public taste is often slapped in the face and fundamental human honesty is often insulted. We must learn democracy. If our country does not leave time for this, it will allow democracy to perish.

Social demagogy will not solve the problems facing our society, but will lead to political extortion. We consider the freedom to openly declare interests and to hold warning srikes to be a natural right of socially organized workers, but it would be a tragedy if Hungary were to become a country of successive, large-scale and general strikes.

Compatriots!

We call upon all the democratic forces in Hungary to fight against extremism and dishonest political means.

We call upon the participants in the political coordination talks to help to publicize the documents of these talks in order to give a clear picture to the country.

We call upon the chairmen of the National Assembly and of the government to publish the protocols of the negotiations with various political forces and public organizations held in December 1989.

We believe that in the current situation these agreements are no longer sufficient. We therefore propose that new talks be started or the agreements reached in those talks be confirmed.

In the current disintegrating political situation, we call upon the interim president of the Hungarian Republic to immediately initiate a new round of talks between the parties, the government, the public organizations, and the interest-representing organizations and to accept responsibility again for a peaceful transition. We ask the National Assembly to support the initiatives related to a peaceful transition.

A peaceful future will only emerge from a peaceful transition.

Deputy Trade Minister on Price Increases

AU2401114590 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 Jan 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Deputy Trade Minister Ferenc Spilak by Sarolta Osvath; date and place not given: "Ferenc Spilak Also Asks When We Will Have a Market Economy in Hungary—the Trade Ministry Did Not Agree With the Large-Scale Elimination of Subsidies"]

[Excerpts] Many people believe that the Trade Ministry has lost the battle with the Ministry of Agriculture and the producers and food industry lobby, which proved to be stronger; and, as a result, prices increased and we now have to face price increases every day. The tradesmen also share consumers' fury and bitterness and say that they have only extra work and no profits from the price increases. The tradesmen feel abandoned and defenseless, just like the consumers. We asked Ferenc Spilak what had really happened and how this situation had come about.

[Spilak] Like every other relevant government body, the Trade Ministry basically agreed that, in order to improve economic efficiency, it is essential to reduce subsidies and to create the interest of agricultural and food industry producers, that is, to increase prices. This was no secret for either the professionals or the public as early as this summer, when consultations and preparatory work began; thus, everyone expected this. Nor is it a secret that the Trade Ministry did not agree with such a large-scale increase in prices, and Trade Minister Tamas Beck has recently expressed this in many places. However, the agricultural sector saw the only solution in applying free prices, provided that the supply and demand situation on the market would not lead to very high prices and would not burden the population too much. This sector proposed to use centrally regulated prices only in the case of three basic products: milk, bakery products, and bread.

[Osvath] What did the Trade Ministry propose?

[Spilak] During the coordination talks, we always pointed out that we regard as too large the range of free price goods, compared with the regulated prices valid in 1989. We agreed to reduce this range of goods, but, in our view, more goods should have been left in this category. [passage omitted]

[Osvath] Thus, you do not feel that the accusations addressed to the ministry are justified?

[Spilak] No, because the Council of Ministers stipulated that the consumer prices of three foodstuffs should be regulated, and the starting price of the rest should be worked out on the basis of consultations. These are not free market prices emerging on the basis of supply and demand, but centrally regulated starting prices that have nothing to do with the market processes. The Trade Ministry does not harbor illusions that there are market conditions in Hungary, and therefore it is not justified to call the ministry to account for not making use of its market control authority. The pricing authorities are the competent ones in this area. The sphere of authority of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry ends with the proposed consumer prices. The enterprises decide on the retail price of a given product on the basis of their pricing rights. [passage omitted]

[Osvath] Demand will obviously drop.

[Spilak] This is the market. If the domestic trade is unable to sell the products, the producers will also be unable to sell them. Thus, they will have to either reduce prices or find some other solution that is in harmony with demand.

[Osvath] When do you expect this?

[Spilak] Can you tell when there will be a market economy in Hungary?

[Osvath] Does this mean that the Trade Ministry will make use of its market control authority only at that time?

[Spilak] We will never interfere in the enterprises' pricing policy. It is the task of the pricing authority to follow honest pricing in industry. We use our authority in the marketing stage, when we find violations of the honest economic behavior in retail trade. The law on competition will obviously contain all the details. [passage omitted]

Industry Minister on Revising Export Licenses

LD2301165290 Budapest MTI in English 1417 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 23, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—'I fully appreciate the need for putting right the country's rouble balance the need for putting right the country's rouble balance, if we can't boost imports, then we should hold back exports. But I just can't agree with the idea that the engineering industry should take the blame for most of the surplus they didn't even generate in the first place', said Hungarian Deputy Minister of Industry, Peter Priniger, in reaction to a trade Ministry move last week to revoke and revise all rouble export licences.

Mr Reiniger said the engineering industry stands to lose 8-10 per cent of its output and up to 100,000 jobs.

He stressed the withdrawn export licences were related to approved contracts, most of them calling for deliveries several years ahead, and fulfilment of which has already started. These contracts cannot be terminated unilaterally, and the measure is bound to draw a Soviet response in kind, said Mr Reiniger, hinting that importers would be fully within their legal rights to demand damages for unfulfilment of the export contracts.

The vice-president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, Mr Jeno Zanyi, said the measure—designed to drastically cut COMECON [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Exports Controls]—cannot really have surprised anyone, yet it is to be feared that the decision-makers have not adequately weighed up the consequences. He criticised the government for using administrative intervention rather than economic policy tools to slash the heavy balance surplus.

Mr Istvan Bihari, general manager of Chinoin pharmaceutical factory, said it was it perfectly inadmissible for the Trade Ministry to have implicated through the measure companies that have had no part in the unlicensed export of 250 million roubles' world of Hungarian products. The decision could have quite catastrophic effects on companies struggling with liquidity problems anyway and which have already bought the raw materials necessary to export for roubles supplies scheduled for the first quarter of the year.

Last year, Hungary amassed 1.6 billion roubles of current account surplus and 550 million roubles of trade surplus with the comecon countries. Hungary's accumulated short-term claims stood at 1.016 billion roubles on Dec. 31, 1989.

DYF Opens Second National Meeting

LD2701200890 Budapest MTI in English 1612 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 27 (MTI)—The Democratic Youth Federation (DYF) of Hungary opened its second meeting in Szaszhalombatta on Saturday. The two-day congress of DYF, which has the most extensive national network and which professes to be a left-wing independent political youth federation, is attended by some 300 delegates, who are to decide on the future of the organization.

As the previously issued document sets down, the model of the DYF created in the spring of 1989, which was a correct answer to the political situation of that time, has become outdated by today. The organization did not see in advance the consequences accompanying the transition from the one-party system to multi-party system parliamentary democracy, and the country's deepening crisis. The organization's dual character (youth movement-aceptance of a political role) has resulted in disorders in its legitimacy. This disorder is particularly great between the political goals decided on, and the results attained.

With respect to the tasks of the second national meeting, Imre Nagy, member of the DYF executive body, told MTI that the conference should first define the nature of the Democratic Youth Federation, whether it continue to operate as a political or a youth organization, and to what degree it should take on a political feature.

New Paper Issued in Transylvania

LD2601113690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] A pictorial newspaper for Transylvanian Magyards has appeared under the name EREDELYI FIGYELO [TRANSLVANIAN OBSERVER]. The chairman of the editorial committee of the biweekly paper is Andras Sueto.

In the section entitled "Document," the paper carries a letter written by Andras Sueto last September to Janos Vince, deputy chairman of the then national Council of Romanian Workers of Hungarian nationality. In this, Sueto severely criticized Vince because he served Ceausescu in a cowardly way.

Walesa Attends 'Stormy' Rally in Gdansk

LD0402223290 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb 4—A stormy rally held in St. Brygida's churchyard here today, and attended by Lech Walesa, turned into an aggresive discussion provoked by members of the Fighting Youth Federation, the Confederation of Independent Poland and the Opposition-88 group who a week ago had occupied the former PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] headquarters here.

The young people were disappointed with Father Henryk Jankowski and Lech Walesa sharply condemning their methods of action.

While reiterating his stand on the necessity to investigate the rights of the former PUWP and other organizations to the property in their possession, Lech Walesa warned against irresponsible steps which may be harmful for the democratic processes in Poland.

You must not play with Poland, said Walesa. We must build Poland. Poland belongs to you and to all. But problems are not solved in that way, even if you are right. Let us not break up Poland through foolishness and factiousness.

When at the end of the meeting, Walesa held a voting on his methods of action, only a several-dozen-strong group of the youth were against him.

Following the rally, groups of young people went to the former PUWP headquarters and started again picketing the building guarded by the militia patrols.

Relations Between Walesa, Government 'Good'

LD0202211190 Warsaw PAP in English 1545 GMT 2 Feb 90

[By Leszek Kubiak]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb.—"On balance relations between the government and Lech Walesa are good and we do not feel desolated," said the Polish Government Press Spokeswoman Malgorzata Neizabitowska during a press conference here today while answering a question concerning possibilities to influence Lech Walesa who in the opinion of the newsman undermines with his statement the prestige of the present government.

"One day Lech Walesa supports us, while some other day he does so to a smaller degree," she added, and suggested so that proposals concerning the issue be submitted to Walesa.

Asked how real Lech Walesa's strivings designed to make Soviet troops leave Poland till the end of 1990 seem, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said: "It is real that Walesa will do everything to reach this goal, but I do not know whether the troops will leave Poland."

Today's press conference focused on the assessment of the premier's visit to Belgium, public confidence in the government, the assessment of the implementation of the economic programme in January, changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, including mainly the security service, the forthcoming visit by Minister Skubiszewski to the FRG, unemployment, a denial that Polish ships were carrying Israeli arms during the Eritrean incident, the assessment of the recent visit by President Havel to Poland, and Minister Kiszczak's obligation to make a ban on destroying archives of the Internal Ministry.

Assessment of Visit to Belgium, Confidence in Government

Niezabitowska considered the to-date results of the visit being paid now by the Polish premier to Belgium as very favourable and added that the Belgian Government took a positive stance on the Polish postulates to remit a part of the debt amounting to about 400 million dollars.

She also said that if such a remission took place this would strengthen the position of our government in talks on the same subject with other partners.

While speaking about the confidence in the policy of the present government Niezabitowska said it did not decrease last January and stressed it grew. "Optimism index reached 59 percent. The zloty fund of public aid for the premier doubled last January and amounted to 6 billion zlotys," stressed she.

Economic Affairs

Undersecretary of State at the Finance Ministry, Andrzej Podsiadlo, assessed the implementation of the economic programme in January.

He said the results achieved last January did not differ from the government's expectations apart from a few "deviations."

The biggest one concerned the price growth rate. The fastest price growth was reported in the first week of January (60 per cent). In the second week it amounted to 20 per cent. The third week saw first price reductions and a general drop in foodstuffs prices was reported in the fourth week of last month.

Many economic units were not conducting any activity and were selling hard currency. The decision to lower bank rate in February should encourage people to take credits. In January there were pay hold-ups between enterprises. There was a fall in sold production, but on the other hand, there were some signs of employment rationalization.

Andrzej Podsiadlo also added that it was too early to make a comprehensive assessment. The Main Statistical Office (GUS) will publish an appropriate communique, he said. Protective measures for the badly-off will be social and not economic, he stressed.

Ministry of Internal Affairs and Security Service

Malgorzata, Niezabitowska paid much attention to changes in the Ministry of Internal Affirs (MSW) and Security Service. She said that a few MSW departments had been liquidated since August 27 1989. The number of staffers in the security service was reduced from 9,193 to 7,400. The MSW gave up numerous positions and cars. The range of activity of many units was limited.

On 29 January 1990, the Goverment Presidium told Minister Kiszczak to declare a ban on destroying archives. Under the draft law on political parties, they cannot operate in the Army and in the MSW. There are about 12,000 vacancies in militia.

Asked about incidents that took place during the debates of the former PUWP's [Polish United Workes Party] Congress near the Palace of Culture here, Niezabitowska said that the militia was not the first to attack the demonstrators. It attacked them when bottles with petrol were thrown at militiamen. At the moment the militia does not feel secure. There must be changes in the ministry and then its effectiveness will grow, she added.

Skubiszewski's Visit and Denial

Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski will pay a visit to the FRG to discuss the implementation of decisions made during the Polish visit by FRG Chancellor Kohl. It will be a working visit. Talks will also focus on the re-unification of Germany, the government press spokeswoman said.

The Polish minister will meet with Genscher and will be received by Chancellor Kohl. Next Friday, after his return, he will meet with newsmen here.

Malgorzata Niezabitowska also denied rumours that Polish ships were carrying Israeli arms during the incident at the coast of Eritrea.

Unemployment

Asked about the scale of unemployment in Poland, Niezabitowska said that the number of work offers was smaller at the end of last January. In the fourth quarter of 1989 there were 254,000 work offers. In January the number fell to 35,000. There were 9,600 unemployed in the fourth quarter, in January the number grew to 55,800. There are about 129 unemployed journalists and 12 editorial teams.

Assessment of President Havel's Visit

Malgorzata Niezabitowska assessed the visit very favourably and stressed there were quantitive changes in relations between the two countries. The two sides had convergent opinions on numerous issues and made concrete decisions (small border traffic, compensation for the Odra pollution to be paid till June 30, 1990). The construction of the coking plant in Stonava still remains unsettled.

Other Questions

Next, Malgorzata Niezabitowska said the main customs office lifted customs duty on equipment and materials serving foreign correspondents in their work.

While commenting on President Bush's proposals to reduce troops in Europe, Niezabitowska presented Poland's stance, that the reduction should take place in tune with decisions made during the Vienna negotiations. Security of all sides should be ensured, she said.

Control of bread prices does not mean a departure from the government programme.

A part of the world bank credits for Poland has already been released. Credits of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) will be released either in a month or two.

The assessment of Minister Kuron's visit to the FRG is positive.

The official stance on the re-unification of Germany was presented by Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski in the Sejm on December 7, 1989. The stance has not been changed (a right to re- unification only within the existing european order and with respect for the existing borders).

The U.N. Resolution No. 598 should provide grounds for settling the conflict between Iraq and Iran.

The exact date of establishing diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel is not known yet (it is to take place in the first quarter of 1990).

Sejm Discusses Abolition of Censorship

LD0102232190 Warsaw PAP in English 1748 GMT 1 Feb 90

[By Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 1—Sejm deputy Barbara Labuda of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club called the office for censoring publications, and shows an "inquisitorial tool of the outgoing system" in the Sejm today. The two deputy and government draft laws postulate to abolish it.

This office, set up in 1946, functioned for almost 45 years as an important tool of the party wielding the monopoly of power.

Today, 15 district and 36 voivodship offices are subordinated to its headquarters here. The budget planned for this year amounted to about 5 billion zloties. The tracking of "disloyalty," the banning of writing and showing truth, interference in all areas of public life are in brief the work of this institution by 1980.

Its vexatiousness diminished somewhat during 16 months of the first period of the legal work of Solidarnosc to even expand the scope of binding provisions (regulations banning publishing defined topics) after introducing the decree on martial law.

The draft of a group of deputies concerns the abolition of censoring publications and spectacles. The government draft is broader and contains proposals to amend the press law and concerns, for instance, the registration of new press titles in voivodship courts, the possibility of impounding the impression of a paper by public prosecutor and introduces the category of the so-called press offence.

Deputies from individual groupings adopted stands chiefly on the government draft. Although they agreed on the abolition of the censorship office, they differed on the assessment of the consequences of functioning of the future law.

The censorship of the press was the censor of political strivings of the peasant movement—this is an opinion of deputies from the Polish Peasant Party-the Rebirth who are afraid also of the commercialization of the mass media market. They think that "the price of responsibility for word must grow at a time of inflation." Besides: In view of giving up preventive censorship, on what grounds is public prosecutor to stop the impression of a paper not knowing earlier what it contains? [sentence as received]

Almost every speaker, including many representatives of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club (OKP), asked a similar question. They recalled even recent practices when censorship interfered both in texts by Adam Mickiewicz and speeches by Pope John Paul II.

OKP deputies differed in the assessments of other aspects of these documents. One group thought that one should defend oneself somewhat from the probable vulgarization of culture.

Other deputies, opting for the deputy draft, said that the government draft envisages the authorities' hidden intention to limit civic freedoms and that exactly censorship or limiting it by regulations are the worst defender of culture.

The milieu of journalists is for abolishing censorship, say deputies from the parliamentary club of the Democratic Left (affiliating most of the former PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] floor group). However, they think that the reality does not foster the decision-making potential of journalists, as there is the "relapse of the propaganda of the authorities' success."

Like representatives of other orientations, they taunted both drafts with excessive generality and their authors with unnecessary haste in preparing these documents. They proposed consultation with the interested milieux.

Deputies from the Democratic Party said that the abolition of preventive censorship is linked also to liberalism in customs. Next representatives of the Christian-Social Union said that mass media are also an important area of business and where money is important, much less attention is paid to morality.

The Sejm submitted both drafts to further work in the Legislative Committee and the Committee for Culture and Mass Media.

Draft Law on Censorship

LD0102123190 Warsaw PAP in English 1052 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 1—Barbara Labuda from the citizens' parliamentary caucus presented a Sejm draft law on the elimination of censorship. The draft law stressed the necessity of lifting censorship and eliminating all the organs of control which would be substituted by the responsibility of authors and editors, not only in the moral but also legal aspect as defined in the penal and civil codes.

The government draft law was presented by the head of the office of the Council of Ministers, Minister Jacek Ambroziak. Also this draft law provides for the lifting of censorship and places the whole responsibility on the authors of texts and editors. The draft suggests that the assessment of publications would be done by the courts.

Hence, periodicals would have to be registered in courts. These changes provide for the liberalization of penal responsibility for the published materials. Under an additional penalty provided by the draft law the law-breaching publications could be seized by the prosecutor.

Parties To Cooperate With Government in Assets

LD0102124590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Representatives of the Polish Peasants' Party Rebirth [Odrodzenia] and the Democratic Party [SD] have declared their readiness to cooperate with the government commission dealing with the assets of political parties. They promised to present within two weeks a list of the buildings and accommodations being used, together with the legal bases for their possession.

Mazowiecki in Belgium on Official Visit

LD0202125590 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 1 Feb 90

["By PAP correspondents Ireneusz Lukasik and Ryszard Nalecz"]

[Text] Brussels. Feb. 1—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, now on an official visit to Belgium today, met presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives of the Belgian parliament and members of the Foreign Committees of both houses.

Meeting in Parliament

We will never forget that the great process of changes in Eastern Europe started exactly in Poland, said President of the Chamber of Representatives Charles Ferdinand Nothomb, welcoming the Polish premier. I think that

we, as parliamentarians, will be able to benefit from some Polish reformatory experiences, President of the Senate Frank Swaelen added.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki stressed that he had come here with one fundamental message: A great acceleration of history took place in countries of Eastern Europe and it is an unusually important thing that this should be matched by the acceleration of entire Europe. The profoundness and irreversibility of Polish changes consists in combining reforms in the political area with economic reforms.

The premier encouraged the gathering to develop interparliamentary contacts with Poland that can play an important role in the process of Poland joining Europe.

Members of Foreign Committees of both houses of the Belgian parliament many a time stressed that a tribute should be paid to Poland for its pioneering role in clearing the way for freedom for Eastern Europe.

At the same time, they conveyed expressions of recognition personally for Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the first noncommunist premier in countries of the Eastern bloc who undertook the task to entirely restructure Poland in the unusually difficult situation.

Showing many a time great knowledge of Polish problems, parliamentarians stressed the dependence of the success of the process of democratization on successes in the economic area.

The premier was asked many questions, including those concerning Polish-Soviet relations.

Asked about the plane of cooperation with the Polish president, Tadeusz Mazowiecki answered that irrespective of how far the roads of his and the president diverged in the past, the alignment functions well now. It is most important that the changes could proceed peacefully. The president secures them by his prestige and broad powers. I think that the president is determined to maintain a protection of this kind, the head of Polish government said.

Meeting With Jacques Delors

Mazowiecki met President of the Commission of the European Communities, Jacques Delors, at the commission's headquarters. Both sides discussed new forms of organizing assistance by the 24 countries for Poland. Both sides tabled proposals aimed to improve this organization.

The two sides examined the concepts to gradually bring in order relations between the EEC and Poland, the need to consistently proceed along the road bringing Poland nearer to the EEC. Both sides discussed also concrete proposals tabled by the two sides, namely, to urgently supply 300,000 tonnes of grain to Poland and to deliver Western pesticides for Polish agriculture.

A joint team of experts was set up and they will discuss problems of Polish debt towards states of the Paris Club tomorrow. We are keen primarily on breaking with the practice of permanently rescheduling the repayments of Polish debt to reduce its size.

Audience at the King of the Belgians

Tadeusz Mazowiecki was received by King of the Belgians, Baudouin, who gave luncheon in honour of the Polish premier at the Laeken Palace.

The king stressed Poland's pioneering role, praising changes in Eastern Europe in his address to representatives of the Belgian political and administrative establishment delivered Tuesday [30 January]. The king emphasized the need to effectively support this part of Europe.

In the afternoon Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was hosted by the European Parliament whose President Enrique Baron Crespo said while welcoming him: "We have to take advantage of the chances so that Europe becomes a continent of unity. All countries should take part in the process leading to it."

The president recalled that a debate on the political aspect of the situation in Poland had recently began here. The Foreign Affairs Committee accepted a resolution on this issue on January 31. It is expected to be passed by the European Parliament still this month. Before this a group of parliamentarians will visit Poland.

The draft resolution stressed that the history of the Polish nation and common political and cultural heritage of Europe charge other countries with special obligations toward Poland.

The Polish political renewal cannot be hindered by questioning the borders—the Polish nation has the right to a safe life within the current borders, the draft said.

The document adopted by the committee pointed to the necessity of granting Poland appropriate economic assistance.

At the same time it stressed that it was necessary to take measures helping to increase Poland's cultural presence in Europe and strengthening the sense of solidarity between Poles and citizens of other nations.

The text of the resolution was handed to Premier Mazowiecki. Next, the head of the Polish Government addressed the parliament members.

"We come out in favour of closer relations between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary but one cannot speak at present about transforming state organizations or creating a confederation. The expansion of our cooperation can, however, help solve problems as the economies of our countries are in part complementary," Mazowiecki said.

Reception at Polish Embassy

In the evening, the Polish prime minister attended a reception given at the Polish Embassy where he talked with deputies of the European Parliament who deal with contacts with Poland.

Talks with EC Commission Head

Also in the evening, Prime Minister Mazowiecki met with the EC Commission head Jacques Delors to discuss Poland's possible association to the EC.

After the talks, the Polish delegation and EC representatives were told about plans of assistance to Poland expected to be given soon. Poland will receive plant protection agents worth 50 million ECU [European Currency Unit], high-protein fodder worth 20 million ECU and machinery for meat and food processing industries.

Concrete decisions are to be made as concerns assistance in telephone networks, gas supply, water treatment plants, and possible supply of agricultural machines.

Mazowiecki Parliament Address

LD0202044890 Warsaw PAP in English 2359 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Brussels, Feb.—Following are excerpts of the address delivered by Poland's prime minister to the European Parliament today:

In wake of the tremendous transformations which have taken and are taking place to the east of the Elbe, the nations of this whole immense region have regained or are regaining the right to arrange their fatherlands according to their sovereign will, a precious gift, which Western Europe has had for long, the gift of freedom is returning to us.

We did not get it by chance but fought it out through a decades- long protest against reality which deprived man of the dignified term of citizen turning him into a suject of totalitarian rule.

It is passing away also thanks to the bold reformative transformations in the Soviet Union, begun and continued painstakingly by the Soviet leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev.

We have regained freedom and are aware of the obligations which come with maintaining it.

That is why the government which I head, and I personally, set for ourselves the aim of creating certain and lasting political foundations for the newly regained Polish freedom.

State of Law

In less than five months we carried out many changes and started yet more in order to form institutional and legal frames in Poland for political democracy and free space for a citizen's society.

The leading role of the Communist Party was eliminated and its organizations are leaving workplaces and public institutions. Today my country is an oasis of peace but not of immobility. The government which I am heading, in cooperation with parliament and in agreement with the president of the Republic of Poland, strives to create solid foundations of a state of law and comply with the its consequences. In changing the law, we abide by that which is in force. That is why we have chosen a road of evolution, a road which in preventing turmoil in the country at the same time does not stall its democratic transformations.

Economic Program

Since January one we have embarked upon a very difficult economic program provisionally approved by the International Monetary Fund.

This is not an ordinary program of stabilization although at issue is the stabilization of our economy. The most important and pioneer-like goal is to fully subject to market rules an economy which for nearly half a century was centrally managed by the state. As the first ones we made an attempt to do this in a complex way and possibly fast.

For four weeks now Poles are shouldering the great burdens of economic overhaul with understanding and patience worthy of the highest respect. Among these burdens is a significant fall in real wages, the possibility of losing work and big difficulties in balancing household budgets.

Behind this patience there is a will of Polish society to depart as soon as possible from forms of economic management which turned out to be a dead-end street and to return to a normal economy. To an economy based on the immense rationalizing and marshalling role of market forces. To an economy based on kinds of ownership present precisely in countries of the community and on an economic role of the state similar to yours.

We are not heading for 19th century capitalism but a contemporary European market economy which is a social market economy. We will be seeking its Polish manifestation.

Economic Situation

Four weeks after the very strong tremor which our economy experienced as a result of decisions taken at the beginning of the year, it still remains in a disbalanced state.

Momentary processes and more lasting ones which are difficult to discriminate for the time being, are under way. The government is closely following what is taking place and is ready to step in if the course of events exceeds admissable frames.

For the time being however nothing indicates that this is necessary. It is true that retail prices grew by more in January than we envisaged but in the last ten days their growth rate fell very considerably.

Supplies in stores improved and queues disappeared.

Budget balance and credit balance are being maintained. There is no threat to the exchange rate of the zloty, a de-dolarization of the economy and a certain increase in hard currency reserves are in evidence. The supply of job openings has fallen very considerably though no great group dismissals are noted.

The financial situation of many enterprises is difficult though there have been no bankruptcies as yet.

We are observing a change in the behaviour of many economic subjects which having met a demand barrier are beginning to seek savings in their own economic activity. We have a feeling of being fully in control of the economic situation.

In the cause of political and economic restructuring which we have begun, we are accompanied by your kindness and assistance. We thank the Community for its share in the fund for stabilizing the zloty, for the pledged credits and assistance in the restructuring of our economy.

Today we are implementing a difficult program and in preparing further deep transformations of the economic system we are being guided by an intention of turning the Polish economy, in the long- term, into an organism which will be an efficient tool for creating national wealth and a healthy part of international economic exchange.

We want to be able to sell a lot in order to be able to buy a lot and be a good customer.

Foreign Debt

Our foreign debt is a big stumbling block along this way. Its current dimension and ways of servicing place and will continue to place a heavy burden on us for years, stifling economic growth and perhaps leading to social tensions.

Such a threat is especially great now when austere financial limitations could cause a fall in production and surge of social dissatisfaction. It would be very important to fully free Poland of the obligation of paying installments and interest on debt.

What is important is not only a temporary break within the framework of the to-date ways of easing debt burdens but moreover, new and bold steps leading to a significant lowering of the extent of the debt itself.

We understand that this is not easy but one could forward several arguments which speak in favour of efforts to find and apply precisely such new solutions.

The first and most important argument is helping us to turn nearly 40 million Polish consumers into a healthy and absorptive market which could become a market for products of the developed West. This will be much more difficult or impossible if Poland's economic growth is stifled by the burden of repayment of the tremendous debt.

The second argument is the scale and unprecedented character of the undertaking we are pursuing. We are returning to a market economy after nearly fifty years of real socialism.

The success of our trial will be a test for others, perhaps also the Soviet Union. Who wishes our continent to fuse must know that this will take place when our economies come close to each other.

There is also the argument referring to justice. Our debt in its great part consists of interest which we were unable to pay. We were not able to pay it because the interest rate was high, frequently shaped by distrubances brought about by the economic policy pursued by the big countries of the West which was not always carefully planned.

We were also unable to pay them because our predecessors from the seventies were given credits sometimes recklessly, without knowledge of how they would be used and frequently in the naive belief that the Eastern neighbour would pay them for us. Is it just that indigent Poland should bear the costs of the mistakes of others?

European Integration

In three years time your countries will set up a great market in which people, goods, and capital will flow freely. The Europe which is beginning to emerge from the historic transformation which took place last year and the continuing change can be safer and more cohesive if we make the effort of moving towards each other.

Poland favours such an effort. A studied and agreed one, taking account of the interests and security of all and not excluding anyone. We are interested in starting at the right time and as soon as possible a procedure of associating Poland with the Community while respecting our ties with other Central European countries and the Soviet Union.

European Cooperation Council

We also think that in the new situation there is a need for new structures which would set the framework for pondering and action aimed at pluralistic unity of our continent. The ideas of a common house or European confederation, which were recently referred to by statesmen from different countries, should ripen and take shape. A European Cooperation Council, comprising all countries and blocs of our continent would serve this end. It would be a great honour and obligation for Poland, lying in the heart of Europe, to host the seeds of our unity.

Mazowiecki Speaks in Louvain

LD0202221190 Warsaw PAP in English 1850 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Louvain, Feb. 2 (PAP)—Following are excerpts from Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's speech at the ceremony of granting him the honorary doctorate of the university of Louvain (Belgium) today.

The activity of the anti-totalitarian opposition in Poland has so far concerned the elemental things. Namely human and civil rights. They referred to the most fundamental issues for a democratic society, on the basis of which concrete political programmes are formulated. Their major objective was to form foundations for a civic society.

Christian Consciousness

Christianity exerted great influence on society's drive at subjectivity in Poland. At first, in the Stalinist period, it was an asylum protecting from being treated as an object. In the nineteen sixties, the church increasingly firmly stood to the defence of the rights of the nation and the rights of a man.

At last, "the barrier of fear" was broken during the pope's first pilgrimage to Poland. After the imposition of martial law and delegalization of the Solidarity, the church sustained public feeling of the right to subjectivity.

The Christian consciousness was in Poland the consciousness of the right to citizens status. In that sense Christianity, and through it society, has won with the great totalitarian machine.

A very important thing happened in Poland while approaching it, namely a meeting of Christians and people of other 'lay, agnostic or positivistic traditions', up till recently ill-disposed towards Christianity.

In our experience of the encounter with the totalitarian reality it turned out that besides great issues, we were facing questions specified in ordinary, every day situations of life. The questions referring to the choice between dignity and career, between honesty and conformity, between the real truth and the official truth, between solidarity with others and the feeling of personal security and convenience.

Politics and Ethics

A question may be asked what is most important today when we have overcome totalitarianism. What is the connection between matters of politics and ethics now, when we have started the formation of a post-totalitarian future? There is a lot of questions here. Not only is it necessary and important to destroy bad things but to build the future as well.

Up till now it was sufficient to oppose totalitarianism. Now social structures of democracy must be built. Up till now we talked about the indispensability of pluralism. Now we must be able to practice this pluralism. Up till now we addressed everything to our opponents. Now we must apply the values we fought for in politics to ourselves.

I believe that the style in which the formation of the future on the ruins of the communist totalitarianism it is an eruption of mutual hatred or an offer of a chance and place for all in a free and pluralistic society. [sentence as received] I think that we will achieve a great success only when we are able to proceed along the latter road.

More on Mazowiecki Activities

LD0302000390 Warsaw PAP in English 2303 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Brussels, Feb. 2: On the last day of his official visit to Belgium Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki was granted an honorary doctorate of the Catholic University in Louvain.

The university was founded in the 15th Century and is the largest and best-managed private university in Belgium. Accompanied by 250 scholars of the university, Mazowiecki marched through the streets of the town to St Peter's Cathedral to attend a solemn mass there.

"I am happy to welcome and greet the Polish prime minister," Rector of the University Roger Dillemans said in Polish while addressing a full university hall where Mazowiecki received his title. The title was conferred on to him in recognition of his contribution to the promotion of Christian culture in Poland and his involvement in the process of democratic transformations.

The Polish prime minister delivered a speech which won a long standing ovation. Students presented Mazowiecki with a symbolic flag of Europe with twelve stars standing for the twelve EC countries and another seven added to represent East European countries. The students issued a resolution that said that the time had come to end discussions and start up concrete actions aimed at creating one free united Europe as a confederation of all nations.

The flag and the text of the resolution were given to Mazowiecki as to the "number one representative of this new Europe."

During the ceremony at the university, Mazowiecki was accompanied by head of the Conference of Belgium's Episcopate Cardinal Danneels, Premier Wilfried Martens and other officials.

In the afternoon, Prime Minister Mazowiecki started a private part of his visit. He went to Ghent, Premier Marten's hometown. The prime ministers visited places of interest in the town and met with the local authorities. Martens gave a dinner in honour of the Polish visitor.

At the conclusion of the official part of his visit, Mazowiecki told PAP that he had come to Strasbourg and

Brussels with a message pointing to the need of an urgent response on the part of the West to the speeding up of transformations in Eastern Europe, to the need for meeting them half-way.

"This was very friendly received by all my interlocutors. I think that the visit was very fruitful. A clear progress has been made in our understanding each other. We have also moved forward on the road leading to closer economic cooperation with the EC where we applied for the status of an associate member," Mazowiecki said.

"We have come closer to the Council of Europe where we applied for membership. It seems that we can also count on ever more concrete assistance in solving the problems of Poland's foreign debt," Mazowiecki told PAP.

The Polish delegation which accompanied the prime minister returned to Warsaw tonight while Prime Minister Mazowiecki is expected to arrive here on Sunday evening.

Jaruzelski Addresses World Economic Forum

LD0402215190 Warsaw PAP in English 2056 GMT 4 Feb 90

["Jaruzelski's Address at World Economic Forum (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Davos, Feb. 4—History was not kind to Poland. More than a hundred years of partitions and two world wars left unprecedented and strong marks, especially the results of World War Two are still experienced by Poland, said President of the Republic of Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski, while addressing the World Economic Forum here today.

Epoch of Great Revaluations

The development of Eastern and Western parts of postwar Europe as well as many of other world regions was marked by discrepancies and antagonisms. New Europe can be and must be different. We have entered an epoch of great revaluations. Confrontation and distrust in the bipolar world have been ever more often replaced with the idea of peace and cooperation. Owing to profound and democratic changes in Poland and other countries of our region we start speaking about fundamental dilemmas of development and cooperation in the same language from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Poland's Opening to World

Poland is widely opening to Europe and to the world. We are shaping pluralistic parliamentarian democracy. At the same time we are firmly moving from a centralized system to the road of social market economy.

The road of democracy, reforms and the state's stability laid down at the "roundtable", has been so far successfully passing successive tests. Necessary are however solid material grounds. There are difficult tasks facing us in halting inflation, transforming property relations, opening of the economy to the world and modernizing the economy's technological base.

The most depends on us, but not everything. Well-known in the world are examples of solidary help to those who are in need. Many states and nations are taking advantage of this in difficult moments. Today Poland and other countries of our region need it.

Competition is a natural feature of international economic relations. I believe, however, that there is also an international community of interests in the key questions. Countries at various levels of economic and technological development, drastic disproportion in standards of living are possible sources of destability, and a threat for a secure future of Europe in the final account.

Polish Assets

We do not expect philantrophy. We do not expect that somebody will provide greenhouse conditions for us. The more so, that we need not start from scratch in Poland.

Poland undertakes today in the task of modernization, the second one over the past four decades. We have considerable assets at our disposal, among them: millions of educated, qualified people, large and various machinery for production, a receptive market situated at the crossroads of trade routes between the East and West, and the North and South, awareness of the realities, numerous links and experience in cooperation with the countries of our region, raw materials resources and a large area of arable land, and last but not least, valuable, pioneer experiences gathered in result of reforms initiated in the early 1980's and essentially radicalized.

Polish Needs

What do we need most, to fully release our potential and to include it, profitably for all, in the system of european economy?

Firstly, we need further assistance from the governments and international financial organizations in the process of adjusting the Polish economy to the conditions of the world market. We appreciate the assistance received so far, for instance in the form of the stabilization fund.

Secondly, we need forming conditions conducive to fast economic growth. In our case large debts are the greatest obstacle for fully starting and boosting economy.

It is necessary to resort to more radical remedies than a simple rescheduling of debts practiced today. I can see no other way out than a reduction of a considerable part of the debt. I am aware however that in case of guaranteed debts the measure is a kind of financial heresy today. But it is the politic's role to break up stereotypes with the sense of the priority of long-term, strategic interests.

Thirdly, the success of our efforts depends on the access to modernity, both in the form of technology and of management methods. We expect an inflow of both small and corporation capital. We are open to direct foreign investment and to joint venture companies. There will be a place on the Polish share market for foreign capital. Gradually we are introducing convertibility of the Polish currency which forms qualitatively new conditions for cooperation with foreign firms.

Fourthly, Poland's more round and effective participation in European economic organizations will constitute an important support. With a view to that we actively work for a radical restructuring of the CMEA. We want to start talks on Poland's association with the EC as soon as possible. We have also proposed a draft declaration on cooperation with EFTA [European Free Trade Association].

Great Common Chance

The time is running out. The pace and depth of the transformations going on in Poland and in other countries in Central and Eastern europe demand equally fast, bold, far-sighted decisions on the part of our Western partners. It is necessary to strengthen the durability of perestroyka started in Poland, to convince society about the purposefulness of the present severe hardships.

Europe, uniting and integrating itself, is our great common chance. We want to contribute to it, to actively co-shape the continent's image.

Meets Modrow, Vranitzky

LD0402230990 Warsaw PAP IN English 2141 GMT 4 Feb 90

[By PAP correspondents Marek Ostrowski and Wlodzimierz Korzycki]

[Text] Davos, Feb. 4: Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski, attending the world economic forum here, met with GDR's Premier Hans Modrow this morning.

The president briefed Modrow on the current situation in Poland while the latter discussed his four-point plan for Germany's reunification. He stressed that the problem of the Polish Western border does not exist for the GDR which treats it as demarcated for ever and unviolable.

President Jaruzelski assessed Modrow's plan in positive terms and pointed to the necessity to link the unification process in Germany with transformations in the whole of Europe, that is with the problem of pan-European unity and security on the continent. In a short statement for PAP Hans Modrow said that all his actions connected with the four-point plan must be in tune with the interests of all European nations. That means that the international law, including Poland's western border put down in it, will be respected.

On Saturday President Wojciech Jaruzelski talked with Austria's Chancellor Franz Vranitzky who, interested in developments in Poland, pointed to the need to start contacts between social democratic parties in both countries. The chancellor also talked about prospects for further economic cooperation between Poland and Austria and expressed interest in strengthening contacts among representatives of economic circles.

Further on Forum

LD0402231490 Warsaw PAP in English 2215 GMT 4 Feb 90

[By PAP correspondent Marek Ostrowski]

[Text] Davos, Feb. 4: Today's session of the World Economic Forum, now under way here, has been called by newsmen the East European mini-summit as together with Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski there were sitting heads of governments of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the GDR, Austria, vice-premier of Hungary and Italian foreign minister.

"New Europe"—such was the subject of the debate the introduction to which was made by the Polish president. Then all participants in the meeting led by French Premier Raymonde Barre were answering questions.

The possibility of Germany's re-unification was the problem tackled most often. President Jaruzelski, asked whether Poles are afraid of this possibility, said that Poles were not a cowardly nation and that history had proved this. But they have a sense of responsibility stemming from a realistic assessment of history and the present day. One should ask how the re-unification of Germany will serve Europe, peace and security of borders. If requirements we put to security will be fulfilled the re-unification of Germany can be treated as a natural result of a historical process, as a right of every nation to self-determination, he said.

The president related the answer to that question to another one, namely on the presence of the Soviet troops in Poland. It is connected with the whole situation in Europe, the central one in particular. The definite balance of power gave 45 years of peace to Europe, he said.

Of course, we opt for the security balance at an increasingly lower level, Jaruzelski added. When the security guarantees are met, when the German problem is solved, the need for the presence of troops which ensure the security will cease to exist.

At another press conference, President Jaruzelski answered questions of the world press newsmen. Prospects of the reforms in Poland were the subject recurring most frequently.

The reforms in Poland are irreversible, the president said, adding that disturbances of the whole process are possible.

Assessing the current situation and support for the reforms on the part of society, confidence in Premier Mazowiecki's government and counting on assistance from the outside, I think that perturbations should not exceed a certain critical level, they may be a natural result of these difficulties which should be overcome, Jaruzelski stated.

The attitude of Polish society is impressive, the president opined. The Polish nation reacts to various situations in a very emotional and spontaneous way. The operation we carry out now is very painful, performed without anaesthetic. And yet society takes that, without enthusiasm, which is obvious, but with understanding and hope for positive results.

Modrow's German Unification Plan Viewed

LD0202121190 Warsaw PAP in English 1040 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 2 - In its commentary on Prime Minister Hans Modrow's concept of German unification presented at a press conference in Berlin yesterday, today's ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily wrote:

"Since last autumn, people in the street in the GDR have been marching in a close array towards German unity. Since yesterday, they have been marching arm-in-arm with Modrow's government. The premier feared the social pressure, he perceived the danger of uncontrolled outbursts, he did not want himself, his party and the government coalition [to] lag behind the unification march. Therefore, he came to the head of it, he escaped forward. Two days after his Moscow talks with Gorbachev, Modrow presented his own plan of German unification.

"Modrow's manoeuvre is something more than just a political trick. It is also a farewell, a farewell to the GDR. There is no ranking political or social force in that country which could effectively fight for its sovereignty. Some crave unification, others treat it as German ill fortune, many resort to the pretext of 'defusing the mine in the street', but all, including the communists, regard unification as 'inevitable'.

"Europe watches as the state, which has not passed the test of time, is falling down. For the epoch which created this state will not pass the test either. There has come a different time, a time of march on Berlin, with ten or maybe only four stops. The pace makes the street happy. Bonn is happy, too," wrote the daily.

FRG Deporting Polish Citizens Under New Rules

LD0502001590 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 4: A group of 26 Polish citizens, deported from the FRG at an instant notice, arrived here yesterday.

The Polish authorities were informed about their arrival on February 2.

Practically up till the last moment we did not have precise information on the number of Poles expelled under the latest immigration regulations introduced in the FRG, Benedykt Lawida from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told PAP.

I stayed in the FRG for two years. I was settling formalities to receive resident papers, said one of the deportees, identified as Krzysztof W. from Jawor near Opole (southern Poland).

Another deportee, a resident of Walbrzych in southwestern Poland said: I had been staying with my husband and seven-year-old son in the FRG for two years. We got money from the German authorities. We prolonged our stay every half a year. The child started learning at school. In the evening, on February 1 the police came to us. We were treated as criminals.

As regards Polish citizens who had not been granted a political asylum in the FRG and were deported from Baden-Wuerttemberg to Warsaw on Saturday. The spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Stuttgart said that the action is not completed.

Starting February 1 Polish emigrants from the so-called volkslist no. 3 or their descendants are not considered German citizens in West Berlin. The list includes mainly Poles treated as eligible for Germanization by Nazis.

Also Bremen announced that the status of expellees will no longer be granted to emigrants from Poland and Hungary.

Bremen's senator for social affairs motivated the decision with the fact that people of German origin in Poland and Hungary are not forced to leave their native land and thus are not under the pressure of expulsion.

Iliescu Discusses 1 Feb Roundtable Talks

AU0202202590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Statement by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, to the Free Romanian Radio and Television in Bucharest on 2 February—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Mr Iliescu, please tell us about the significance that you attach to the meeting held with the political parties yesterday and to the agreement that has been reached.

[Iliescu] First, I would like to stress the general feeling of satisfaction expressed by all the participants, both with the constructive spirit that dominated yesterday's dialogue—that lasted almost 6 hours—and with the positive results achieved and written down in the communique of the meeting.

I would like to inform the whole country that as far as it is concerned, the National Salvation Front Council [NSFC] acted consistently in accordance with the statements made as early as its creation regarding its openness to all the constructive forces of the country, aimed at saving the country from a crisis and at normalizing the entire society.

The results registered over the last month have proved that the NSFC has been faithful to the programmatic principles proclaimed in the 22 December platform, both as regards the decision to take action to resolve the urgent problems confronting the country, and as regards the wish and the will to promote real democracy throughout the country. Our political development in this period has been marked by a process of dissociation and by the diversification of options and of political platforms. The diversity is a general feature of life, social life in particular. That is the way that nature created us: to be very different from each other and to think in a different way. Democracy means taking into consideration this diversity and promoting some relations based on mutual respect, including the observance of the rights of minorities to affirm their own positions. Starting on the basis of these principles, the NSFC showed a willingness to expand its dialogue with all the political formations that appeared in our political life.

The reaction to the NSFC's decision to participate in the elections was motivated by ambiguity. There is the double function of the NSFC and of the local councils—as bodies of power on the one hand, and as representatives of a movement with a broad adherence to the masses on the other.

It is regrettable that this led to an open street confrontation with some violence, which accentuated the tension within our society. We thus consider positive the holding of dialogue and the constructive way in which it was held, as well as the willingness of the participants to find a way to cooperate. That ensures the involvement of all representatives in guaranteeing political stability in this country until the elections—at which time the public will decide on the options, the political platforms of various groups, and on the candidates that will be entrusted by society to lead the destiny of the country.

The Provisional Council of National Unity—which is going to be set up by uniting the biggest part of the current members of the National Salvation Front [NSF], representatives of the active participants in the revolution, personalities in scientific and cultural life, workers, peasants, young people, students, representatives of some minorities and of counties, as well as representatives of parties and organizations of national minorities, in an equal proportion of 50 percent—will function as a pre-parliament. One of its first missions will be to finalize the electoral law with a view to organizing the general elections in May, when the parliament will be elected, playing the role of a constituent assembly and empowered to adopt the new Constitution of the country.

The NSF, as a political formation with its own structure and platform, and whose statute and program platform will be published in the forthcoming days, will be organized on the basis of territorial principles and will participate in elections on equal terms with all the other political forces.

A positive element of the meeting is the call launched at the end of the meeting and mentioned in the communique as well—to observe calm, so as to create a favorable climate for guaranteeing the normal development of the economic, social, political, and cultural life. Even the electoral campaign, as agreed upon by all participants, must be a school of political democracy, and not a show marked by violence, damage, and attacks on people, or by violent street confrontations.

We hope that the spirit dominating yesterday's dialogue will dominate the development of the political life during the following period. Thank you.

Ionescu Announces Dissolution of NSF

AU0202184890 Paris AFP in English 1843 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 2 (AFP)—Romania's ruling National Salvation Front (NSF) is to be dissolved Saturday, Cazimir Ionescu, vice chairman of the provisional government, said Friday.

"The Front will meet tomorrow (Saturday) for the last time and will be dissolved," Mr Ionescu told Agence France-Presse.

"The decree of December 30, 1989 which gave the Front its legal status will be abolished on Saturday," he added.

The Front took power in Romania following the ouster and execution of President Nicolae Ceausescu in December.

NSF Holds Last Meeting, Discusses PCNU

AU0302165090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] A meeting of the National Salvation Front Council [NSFC] began today. The meeting is discussing the Program Platform and the Statute of the National Salvation Front of Romania, which is becoming a political organization. The meeting also examined participation in the future Provisional Council of National Unity.

At a news conference organized during one of the intervals, Cazimir Ionescu, NSFC deputy president, stated that this is the last meeting of the Council in this structure and that by the end of next week the new Provisional Council of National Unity is to meet, as was agreed upon with the political parties at the roundtable.

The proportion of seats in that Council will be 50 percent for the representatives of the National Salvation Front and 50 percent for the political parties.

The structure will be flexible; thus new members will be admitted in accordance with the setting up of new political organizations.

Answering a question by the foreign press, Mr Cazimir Ionescu also specified that all parties agreed to a restoration of the government. Political positioning at this point would be null and void, since it could lead to the country's economic destabilization. However, the government will be open to the participation of technocrats and of all competent people.

Returning to the organization of the future Provisional Council of National Unity, Mr Cazimir Ionescu specified that, at the level of counties, the council's organizations will be completed—as will be the case at the central level—with representatives of the political parties in the same equal proportion.

Another question deals with the presence of the National Salvation Front as a political organization and its participation in the coming free elections. It was specified that the National Salvation Front has issued its Statute and Program Platform and has at its disposal the committees for registering members in the capital city and in all localities throughout the country.

Sivliu Brucan Withdraws From NSF Leadership

AU0402151090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] The ROMPRES Agency has received the following letter from Mr Silviu Brucan:

Today, 4 February, I decided to withdraw from the National Salvation Front [NSF] leadership because I view my mission as being completed.

The NSF will participate in the elections in order to complete its struggle for fulfilling the tasks it assumed in the declaration of 22 December 1989.

The Provisional Council of National Unity is set up in such a way as to ensure the political and economic stability of the country, which is absolutely necessary for the democratization process, and objective progress to elections on 20 May 1990.

I trust that all my comrades in struggle will share my conviction that a powerful opposition is essential for a genuine democracy.

I am concerned about three weaknesses in our new political situation, Mr Brucan's letter says.

Honest people stay at home and do not get involved in the struggle for democracy; they do not speak up about the great problems confronting our country and they let the political arena be dominated by personal, careerist, [word indistinct], and political ambitions.

In the election campaign that has begun, stress is not placed on the clash of views, programmatic discussions, economic policy options, and Romania's future strategies, but on personal incriminations and on compromising adversaries, thus threatening to lower the level of the political competition to the basest traditions of elections in the prewar period.

Of concern in fashioning public opinion is the fact that a man rose, who for more than 15 years led two propaganda cesspools, which surpassed each other in promoting Ceausescu's cult. This man was assigned by the dictator to be a member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and deputy in the Grand National Assembly, institutions in which frenetic applause was compulsory. Although this man does not feel obliged to account for the abovementioned baneful activities, he has succeeded in manipulating students and intellectuals and in taking over the leadership of two important publications today.

Finally, I want to declare that any time the Front appeals to my knowledge and my experience, I will be ready to serve it. My intention is to return to my desk, and to my social and political research work.

We have presented Mr Silviu Brucan's letter sent to the ROMPRES Agency.

Brucan Clarifies Position

AU0502112190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] The ROMPRES Agency has received the following statement from Mr Silviu Brucan:

Since last night, the television station broadcast only the first part of my letter during its Current Affairs program at 1930 [1730 GMT]—an unprecedented procedure, which distorts the nature of my decision—I want to specify that I withdrew from the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front [NSF], but that I still am and remain a member of the NSF Council. As I have already

stated, Mr Silviu Brucan said, in this capacity I am ready to serve the Front at any time that it appeals to my knowledge and experience.

In view of the great number of telephone calls received last night after the aforementioned television broadcast, I feel it is my duty to let it be known that the Front leadership has entrusted me with certain tasks for the ensuing period, which I will strive to fulfill.

Doinea Cornea Urges Close Watch on Freedom

AU0302105490 Paris AFP in English 0133 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Feb 3 (AFP)—Doina Cornea, one of Romania's leading dissidents under the former Ceausescu regime, appealed late Friday for Romanians to be on their guard against moves to usurp the country's newly-won freedom.

Her call came as it was announced here that the National Salvation Front which has governed Romania since the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu in December will be "dissolved" on Saturday, paving the way for a coalition administration.

Mrs. Cornea said on television that the NSF Council's decision Thursday to share power with 29 opposition groups "appeared to bring a certain stability, on condition that everything which has been promised is respected".

She resigned last month from the NSFC, saying that it wanted to become a political party, against its original claims.

Mrs. Cornea called on young people and workers who took part in the revolution to remain because "those who have served communism for decades have mental structures which cannot be changed from one day to the next".

Her comments were seen as a reference to the fact that most of the NSFC's members were former communists.

"Communism has above all mastered the perfect tactics for conquering power. No methods are out of bounds to succeed in this, including demagogy and disinformation.

"If the revolution is threatened, come out onto the streets. If ever you need me, I will be by your side", she declared.

Mrs. Cornea meanwhile accused Romanian television of having "verbally assaulted" her and "broadcast false information against the representatives" of independent parties.

"That is reminiscent of the 1945-46 campaign against the same parties", she said, referring to the Peasants Party, the Liberals and Social Democrats, who pre-dated the communists' post-war arrival in power.

Stressing that she did not belong to any party, Mrs. Cornea said that "only multi-party politics can prevent society's slide towards totalitarianism".

She also warned against the "notions of political consensus, unanimity, and membership called for by the NSFC", and also stressed the advantages of privatisation in industry and agriculture. [passage omitted]

Ceausescu Top Aides Given Life Sentences

AU0202192290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1827 GMT 2 Feb 90

["Sentence Passed in Bucharest Trial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/2/1990—On 2 February the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal passed the sentence in the trial of the four acolytes of Ceausescu's dictatorship Postelnicu Tudor, Bobu Emil, Dinca Ion and Manescu Manea tried so far.

With a majority of votes the tribunal condemned the defendants to life imprisonment and total confiscation of private property for genocide.

Postelicu Tudor, Bobu Emil and Manescu Manea made an appeal.

Dinca Ion did not make an appeal.

Ceausescu's Sister Elena Barbulescu Under Arrest

AU0302093390 Paris AFP in English 0014 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 3 (AFP)—Elena Barbulescu, the sister of Romania's former dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, is being detained on charges of embezzling millions of dollars in public funds, Romanian television reported late Friday.

Mrs. Barbulescu appeared in the television report, saying that she was on a hunger strike, and would not answer reporters' questions. She was shown lying down, her face covered by a peasant's headshawl.

She is being held in the southwestern region of Olt on charges of pocketing 30 million lei (more than three million dollars at the official rate) and is also alleged to have been involved in the killing of an army colonel.

Her brother Nicolae and his wife, Elena, were executed on December 25 after a court-martial.

Shevardnadze, Vasile Sandru Talk in Moscow 3 Feb

AU0302192590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1722 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow (ROMPRES) 3/2/1990—The Soviet Union wishes full success to the Romanian people in democratically renewing their country, and in overcoming the difficulties cropping up. Essential in this respect are the observance of the right of option of the Romanian people, the inadmissibility of interference in Romania's domestic affairs and of the attempts at destabilizing the situation in the country, stressed the USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze during a talk he had in Moscow on Saturday with Romania's Ambassador Vasile Sandru.

As TASS reports, during the talk, the sides' wish was expressed for cooperation between the USSR and Romania in the international arena.

Kosovo Polje Serbs Issue Call for Arms

AU3101170790 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 26 Jan 90 p 10

[D.B. report: "Even Calls for Arms!"]

[Text] Yesterday's extended meeting of the Kosovo Polje League of Communists [LC] Communal Committee, chaired by its president, Mitar Baljevic, discussed the political and security situation with particular emphasis on the events of 23 and 24 January, which were considered to be nationalistic and aimed at intensifying Serbian and Montenegrin emigration and destroying Yugoslavia. The Slovene and Croat leaderships were also blamed for them.

After the stands of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee on these events were approved, Mitar Baljevic took the floor, and said that the demonstrators' demands were identical with some amendments proposed by the Slovenes at the 14th Congress, which were rejected. This speaker then berated the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, regardless, as he put it, of what its program is. After speaking at length on the events of the day before yesterday, he also devoted part of his speech to the proceedings of the congress, blaming the Slovenes for their suspension. He expressed amazement at the tactics employed by the provincial leadership in not dispersing the demonstrators immediately.

Zoran Grujic surveyed events in Kosovo since 1981, and said—among other things—that whenever a new leadership is elected, we are told that everything is all right, and then it turns out not to be. Sinan Hasani was once said to be good, and the same was said of Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Kacusa Jasari, but look where some of them are now. He said that the same was said of Rahman Morina, but the situation is worse than it was. We must stop once and for all simply describing events, because the nationalists' aim is an ethnically pure Kosovo. He went on to say that the Serbs and Montenegrins have hitherto sought help from the leadership, but that they will now rely solely on their own people. If the Albanians come forward and point out those who have taken part in the demonstrations, we will then trust them and consider them honest.

Miga Samardzic proposed that the films of the demonstrations taken by the Secretariat for Internal Affairs should be released, so that participants from Kosovo Polje could be identified and thrown out of the commune. He then called the university, Trepca, and the Ramiz Sadiku Combine links in the separatist chain, and asked how long Serbia will put up with such things. Sreten Martinovic then criticized the Slovene and Croat leaderships, adding that the phrase used hitherto, that Kosovo belongs to the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and others, is mistaken, because Kosovo is Serbia and belongs to the Serbs.

Bogdan Kecman then said that the suspension of the congress was caused by a fifth column led by the Slovenes and Croats, adding that the roots of Albanian separatism are there. He went on in his speech to tell the Serbs to remember the volunteers who gave their lives for Old Serbia and Kosovo, appealed to the Serbia people to get rid of the ax that has been cutting off people's heads for centuries, and called for the defense of Orthodoxy, which is in danger from Catholicism and Islamic fundamentalism. He then called on the authorities of the state to arm the Serb people so that they can cut down, as he put it, the enemy on the doorstep. Since we do not expect anyone's help, he added, we will defend ourselves, and he called on the people to arm themselves for war.

Veselin Maslovarevic said that the situation in Kosovo cannot improve as long as the Museum of the League of Prizren exists, and he demanded its demolition. Arsim Ternava dissociated himself from this demand. Indira Basota said that our society is still not ripe for democracy, and that the Slovenes at the congress and recent events showed this.

Other speeches at the meeting were in a similar spirit, attacking the Slovenes and the Croats, the University of Pristina and its staff, and personalities from Albanian history and culture. The formation of alternative movements was also criticized.

Kosovo Alternative Movements Plan Declaration

AU0102090990 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 28 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Appeal for Signatures to Declaration"]

[Text] Pristina 27 Jan—The leaders of the Pristina UJDI [Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative], the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, and the Kosovo Association of Philosophers and Sociologists informed Yugoslav and foreign journalists that in the next few days they will offer Kosovo citizens the opportunity to sign a declaration calling for democratic freedom and the lifting of the state of emergency in the province.

Veton Surroi, chairman of the UJDI, said that this declaration gives Kosovars, regardless of national affiliation, the opportunity to come out in favor of the democratization of life and against the "repressive system." The Kosovo alternative movement appealed for the demonstrations to be given up 3 days ago in Pristina.

The five points of the declaration, which, it was said, would be offered immediately to citizens for signing in public places throughout the province, demand the lifting of the state of emergency in the province, an end to all political trials, and the release of political prisoners who have not used violence. The alternative movement also calls for the right to free political, cultural, and trade union association, the removal of the criterion of moral and political suitability that denies citizens the right to

work and education, the holding of free elections, the removal of rigorous party control of the press, and the resignation of all the present chief editors of the Kosovo media.

The representatives of the three associations concerned invite all political forces in the province to open dialogue, including the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] and the Peony [Bozur] Association for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to the province.

Replying to the questions of a large number of Yugoslav and foreign journalists gathered in Pristina in connection with the demonstrations 3 days ago and the abortive general strike of Albanians announced for yesterday, the representatives of the Kosovo alternative movements stated that the content of the declaration represents a minimum common program for social consensus, while they consider that there is no further political sense in the Albanians taking to the streets, because this intensifies the repression and creates an intolerable situation in the province.

According to them, Yugoslav society now stands at the threshold of parliamentary democracy, whose introduction is the only solution to all the key problems of Kosovo.

In answer to the journalists' question of why the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, which was called an extreme nationalist organization here, had not joined the appeal and called for signatures to the declaration, Veton Surroi replied obliquely that it is true that neither the Kosovo LC [League of Communists] nor the Socialist Alliance had joined this action of the Kosovo alternative movement. As the movement's representatives explained, they decided to organize this declaration for public signature, taking the view that "The Kosovo authorities have once again in recent days shown their arrogance, ignorance, and lack of minimal readiness to solve the crisis through social dialogue, and have responded with force, rejecting "citizens' reasonable grievances over the continuous nine-year repression of their democratic demands." [quotation marks as received]

Alternative Political Groups Protest Situation

LD0102022290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0050 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The situation in the Province of Kosovo and the roads to resolving it has been the topic of many meetings in enterprises in the Province of Vojvodina and the Republic of Serbia. It was demanded at all meetings that the Yugoslav State Presidency undertake urgent measures for settling the situation in the province. Also, a call was sent to the leaderships of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia to cease lending support to Albanian chauvinists and separatists in Kosovo.

The Board for Human Rights and Democratic Freedom of Citizens of the Socialist Alliance of Croatia on Wednesday expressed extreme concern and sharply protested against the "systematic violation of human rights and democratic freedoms of citizens" in Kosovo.

They demanded the lifting of the state of emergency in the already restless province.

Several hundreds of Albanians this evening came out into the streets of the central Adriatic city of Split, protesting against the measures which are being implemented in Kosovo, and also setting out pro-Albanian separatist slogans.

The Board of the Opposition Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (AYDI) in Belgrade concluded that the only acceptable way to resolve the Kosovo question was through a dialogue of representatives of all citizens of Kosovo together with representatives of the authorities of the federation, the Republic of Serbia and the Province of Kosovo.

The opening of such a dialogue, according to the Board, is conditioned on an end to the use of violence by all sides and the withdrawal of police from the streets, in order to truly protect property and lives of citizens and not prevent the freedom of political activity, the association's statement set out.

At a news conference in Pristina late this evening, Veton Suroji, one of the association's leaders in Kosovo assessed that the Kosovo political alternative groups do not hold the situation in the province in their hands. He also said that there were unofficial contacts between the Association and the provincial authorities and that they were still under way. The news conference was attended by other alternative groups in Kosovo. They reiterated demands for parliamentary democracy, a multi-party system and an end to the street demonstration and bloodshed.

Students Demand Action by Presidency

LD0102223290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2039 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—A delegation of students of the Belgrade University today delivered to the presidency of Yugoslavia a demand to urgently take the firmest steps to stop the terrorist activity of ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists in the Province of Kosovo. The demand was worded at a rally of Belgrade students on January 30.

In order that a lasting solution be found to the Kosovo problem, the students particularly insist that the highest state organs immediately expel from Yugoslavia all Albanian refugees who do not have Yugoslav citizenship, prevent the infiltration in Yugoslavia of Albanian terrorists from abroad, resolve the problem of the demographic boom of the Albanian population in Kosovo and re-examine the welfare policy being pursued in this part of Yugoslavia.

The Belgrade students further demand that the presidency of Yugoslavia declare itself on the stands of the organs of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia on the latest developments in Kosovo, and to take a stand on the student's demands.

Statement Asks End to Kosovo 'Repression'

LD0102232990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—The majority of political parties, alliances, and movements from Slovenia, and some from the entire country, signed the joint "statement against violence and for peace and democracy," in which they call on and demand an immediate end to "the use of repression as a manner of resolving the complex social and political situation in Kosovo."

The statement's signatories expect the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, and the Federal Executive Council to "use common sense to prevent further agony and lift the emergency measures in the province." They expect conditions to be created for various views in the province regarding resolution of the problem of Serbs, Montenegrins, and Albanians living in Kosovo, that they come face to face with each other, that conditions will be created for a free political organization and free elections, for ending all political processes, and, above all, "the staged process against Vlasi and other accused." The signatories address republican and provincial assemblies with the demand that, "to the advantage of Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, and all citizens of Yugoslavia as a state community, they do everything possible through their representatives in the federal bodies and organs so that the mentioned demands, which facilitate political resolution of the situation in Kosovo, are implemented."

As stated at today's news conference, the following signed the statement in Slovenia: the League of Slovene Socialist Youth (former the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation); the Slovene Peasant Alliance; the Alliance of the Slovene Peasant Youth; the Slovene League of Communists; the Slovene Democratic Christians; the Slovene Social-Democratic Alliance; the Slovene Writers' Society; the Labor Party Forward; the Slovene Trade Union; the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People; the Piran Italian Community; the Humanitas Studio; the Ljubljana branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative; the Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Pristina branches of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative; the Belgrade branch of the Helsinki committee for Human Rights; the Feminst Group and Society from Belgrade; the Croat Democratic Community from Zagreb; the Presidium of the Croat Socialist Youth Federation Republican Confernece; the Zagreb city conference of the Croat Socialist Youth Federation; the Green Action from Zagreb; the Women's Group from Tresnjevka; the Kosovo society of philosophers and sociologists; the Committee for the Protection of rights in Kosovo; the Kosovo Democratic Alliance; and, as individuals, Gojko Nikolis, Angelina Markovic, Milan Nikolic, and Sonja Liht, all from Belgrade.

Macedonian LC Discusses Kosovo, LCY Congress

LD0202141890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1231 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, February 2 (TANJUG)—The communists of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia maintain that the Province of Kosovo has a future only as part of Serbia and Yugoslavia, the League of Communists [LC] of Macedonia Tito Petkovski stated in Skopje today.

Petkovski set out that free dialogue and acknowledgement are indispensable for the normalization of the situation of Kosovo but that they are not possible at the moment because the province is in a state of anarchy and the legal state does not function there.

Speaking about the adjourned special, 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress, Petkovski said that the League of Communists of Macedonia will not opt for either the so-called Serbian or the Slovene Communist option because, as he underscored, neither is correct.

Petkovski underscored that the Macedonian Communists have opted for federal Yugoslavia.

He assessed that the special LCY Congress was adjourned because numerous interests, and not only national, were introduced into the "Game." All means were used to win one's own people in order to win the coming elections, Petkovski said.

He set out that it was not all the same whether the LCY will exist or will disintegrate and assessed that the unity of the LCY should be built on the basis of the acknowledgement of all differences.

Drnovsek Comments on Kosovo Situation

LD0202172190 Belrgade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—The situation in Kosovo is exceptionally difficult and complex. However, I believe that the reforms begun in the country will facilitate better conditions for the life together of all those living in Kosovo, Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, said immediately after the expanded session of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, in replying to a question from a TANJUG journalist on the situation in the province.

To a question from the TANJUG journalist on possible solutions to the crisis in Kosovo, Janez Drnovsek, in the presence of domestic and foreign journalists, recalled that a great degree of agreement has been reached in the country on the reforms that have been undertaken in the political and economic system after the many years of crisis in Yugoslavia. The reforms, the president of the

SFRY Presidency stressed, are based on political pluralism that also includes the multiparty system so, in this way, the conditions will be created for everyone to express his interests in a legal way. Our society, Janez Drnovsek said, is paying more and more attention to the protection of individual human rights in the whole of the country.

Now, however, we are faced with a situation in Kosovo that is putting a brake on these initial positive processes, Drnovsek pointed out. I am convinced that the reforms that we have undertaken will significantly improve the situation in the whole of the country and lead to the establishment of a democratic dialogue on life together. This will, above all, Drnovsek assessed, create better conditions for the life of all the inhabitants of Kosovo.

The situation in Kosovo could bring the reforms into question and this is why Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, has called today on all people in Kosovo to halt all activities that lead to the destabilization of the situation in the country and in the province.

At the present moment, it is crucial to restore the mutual trust of all those who live in Kosovo and it is crucial that the leaderships of the province and the country create stable conditions for peaceful life together, Janez Drnovsek said in reply to questions asked by the TANJUG journalist.

Pristina Hospital Releases Casualty Figures

LD0202192890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Several hundred Albanians set off from the suburbs of Vranjevac towards the center of Pristina, led by their older compatriots, to demand more democracy and freedom and protest at the meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins. It is significant that the Serbs and Montenegrins held their meeting in an organized way in a sports hall whereas the Albanians on the streets, calling for democracy and raising two fingers, were being dispersed with tear gas and bullets. One child was also injured in this action by the special units.

According to the latest figures supplied by Pristina hospital, since 29 January this year, 75 injured have been taken to Pristina hospital, 10 of whom have died in this hospital alone.

Delegates Question Security Forces Actions

LD0202201490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—What steps did the federal government take and what steps does it intend to take against abuse on the part of the security organs who on 30 and 31 January transgressed and even abused their duties?

This was a question that 11 delegates from Kosovo asked the Federal Executive Council with reference to the statements of official municipal organs that claim that at the end of January the security forces in Malisevo, the village of Dobrcine, Glogovac, and Podujevo were shooting at innocent people who did not take part in the demonstrations. They were also shooting without cause at municipal organ buildings, the secretariat for internal affairs, and self-managing interest communities. The government was also asked why no official statement was ever issued on this subject.

A group of delegates also asked whether it was true that in the process of breaking up the demonstrations the security forces used highly toxic tear gas, which is very dangerous to women and children.

SFRY To Deny 'Hospitality' to Separatists

LD0202204490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1903 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav authorities have announced that they will, at long last and in keeping with the laws and regulations, begin to deny further hospitality to those Albanian immigrants who have violated the basic norms and chosen to serve the purpose of hostile illegal organizations.

The authorities have been forced to take this step by an escalation in the past week of nationalist demonstrations by ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo, which is a constituent part of the Repubic of Serbia.

A demand that this measure be resorted to was made by workers and students at protest rallies in Titograd and Belgrade two days ago. some ten days earlier, the possibility that Albanian immigrants might be expelled was announced in the assembly of Serbia by the republican interior secretary.

The immigrants, many of them with families, have been enjoying Yugoslav hospitality for years and have had enough time to request of competent organs to be granted Yugoslav citizenship or to seek another country in which to live. The trouble is, however, that their exact number is not known even by statistical offices and competent state services. Estimates of the number of Albanian immigrants in Yugoslavia vary from 4,000 and 5,000 to as many as 40,000 or 50,000 and even 300,000.

The present-day story of emigrations from Albania begins in the war year 1941, when the region of Kosovo and Metohija became part of Italy, and later of Germany. For full four years, there was no Yugoslav-Albanian border. How many Albanians crossed the border and settled in Yugoslavia during the four war years has never been recorded anywhere, nor is it known today. If any records had been kept, they would appear to have been destroyed.

At the time of the Cominform resolution on Yugoslavia, specifically in 1948 and 1949, for the first time since the liberation a revision was (?carried) out of citizenships granted to foreigners earlier. Unfortunately, no files

dating from that period have been kept. What is known for a fact and has been ascertained from official sources is that Yugoslav citizenship was conferred on 2,109 Albanians in the 1945-to-1988 period The largest number of them decided to settle in Kosovo (1,473), and the others in Macedonia (522) and Montenegro (114).

According to the last Yugoslav Census, there were 4,200 citizens of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania living in Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia and Southern Serbia in 1981. Of this number of settlers born in Albania, 2,900 were ethnic Albanians, and the rest Macedonians, Montenegrins and Serbs born in Albania. Experts of the statistical office doubt, however, that the figure of 4,200 immigrants is correct, as many Albanians either did not state their place of birth or gave a fictitious one in their census papers.

Between five and six thousand Albanian refugees crossed into Yugoslavia from 1948 to 1953. Following the standard United Nations procedure, most of them have sought another place to live in the West.

Assembly Report Assails Kosovo Separatists

LD0202203690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—The separatist movement in Kosovo is a direct attempt to break up Yugoslavia, overthrow the system and break Kosovo away from the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic told the Yugoslav Assembly in Belgrade today in a report on the situation in the province of Kosovo.

Mitrovic said that the federal government was in session around the clock, and that it was following the situation closely, proposing necessary measures and supervising their implementation.

He also said that the government had formed a special staff to follow the situation in the province, which consists of Prime Minister Ante Markovic, the two deputy prime ministers and the secretaries for internal and foreign affairs and defence.

Mitrovic said that the events in Kosovo could affect the integrity of the country and relations in Europe. Violence, destruction and terrorist actions were mounted by separatists with the aim of provoking an armed uprising and a direct confrontation with members of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities and security forces, he said.

The Yugoslav authorities will not permit Yugoslavia's integrity and the frontiers of Yugoslavia or the Republic of Serbia to be endangered, and the constitutions of Yugoslavia and Serbia to be changed by force, Mitrovic said, adding that no one would be allowed to support separatists with the aim of overthrowing the country's social and political system.

According to the government's report, between 15,000 and 30,000 people participated in the demonstrations in Kosovo. The government considers that the security forces are strong enough and sufficiently equipped to prevent a further escalation of the unrest and to thwart the efforts of the separatists, nationalists and terrorists towards spreading the violence.

Security forces are protecting the houses and families of Serbs, Montenegrins and other non-Albanian inhabitants in all settlements in the province, Mitrovic said. Mitrovic added that the military units permanently stationed in the province were from yesterday carrying out (?exercises) outside the barracks as part of their regular tasks.

The government assesses that the situation in Kosovo has slowly started calming down over the past two days since security forces are in control of the situation.

Mitrovic pointed out the need to draw up a special program for the socio-economic development of Kosovo in which, besides the federal government, the governments of the republics of Serbia and the province of Kosovo would also participate.

Interior Secretary Petar Gracanin, who also addressed the Yugoslav Assembly, said that 20 persons had been killed in the demonstrations and several dozen wounded or injured. He added that a number of policemen had also been hurt.

Gracanin pointed out that separatists were spreading rumours about the alleged brutality of the security forces and claiming that the number of casualties was higher than was actually the case.

Pointing out that competent organs would investigate every individual death or injury, Gracanin stressed that the truth was the best weapon. He warned that there had been attempts to spread the demonstrations to other parts of the country, listing yesterday's demonstrations by ethnic Albanians in the town of Tetovo in the Republic of Macedonia, and gatherings of Ethnic Albanians in the republics of Croatia and Slovenia.

Both chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly will convene at a joint session on February 7 in order to adopt integral conclusions about the situation in the province of Kosovo. Delegates will be addressed at the session by Yugoslav Presidency President, Dr Janez Drnovsek.

LCY Presidium's Statement on Kosovo

LD0202213490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium considered the latest difficult situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo at a consultative meeting and adopted the following statement:

We are confronted with the most serious attack hitherto of Albanian separatist nationalism, which is using the means of armed terror and is growing into an armed

rebellion, and to achieve these sinister aims an attempt is being made to exploit national feelings and the dissatisfaction of the Albanian population in Kosovo.

The latest measures of the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council [FEC], and the competent organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia offer a basis for a more rapid favorable outcome in countering the present escalation of terrorist activity by Albanian nationalists. The LCY Central Committee Presidium calls on Communists and all citizens to support these measures, to insist on the effective means of the law-governed state, and to call a halt to all demonstrations and violent actions. At the same time, it is necessary to discover the conditions for common Yugoslav action and the political activity of progressive socialist forces in Kosovo. There is no other path to the peace, security, freedom, and equality of the citizens of the SFRY.

The democratic rights and freedoms of the individual are preeminent for us, but it is precisely for this reason that it cannot be permitted for them to be used to annul the same freedoms of others and to break up the country. Herein lies, indeed, the purpose of the modern, democratic, and law-governed state. The measures of the law-governed state to stabilize things in Kosovo forthwith, which we support, should at the same time create the conditions for strengthening the processes of democratization and the spreading of the freedoms and rights of all people.

The full political mobilization of the Kosovo LC organization and of all organized socialist forces in this province, as well as in Serbia and in the whole of the country, is essential. Unless there is such widespread modernization [as received] it is not possible either to conduct the political action of social organizations or to implement successfully the measures of the state organs.

It has been agreed that the President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and several members of the Presidium and the Central Committee will go to Kosovo and involve themselves in political action to overcome the present situation.

At the meeting, there was unanimous support of all those present for the initiative that Ante Markovic be candidate for president of the FEC in the coming period as well. Here the starting point was the program of reforms which he is proposing and the action being taken by the FEC for economic stabilization.

Republics Assess Kosovo Situation

LD0202224990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2025 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia, of which the restless province of Kosovo is a part, today assessed that the measures taken in the province have yielded encouraging results in the prevention of inter-ethnic conflicts, heightening of the safety of the citizens and protection of major facilities and roads.

The presidency of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina today professed profound concern over the constant rise in the number of killed and wounded in the demonstrations in Kosovo and incalculable consequences these developments might have for the lives of the people and the territorial integrity, political stability and constitutional order of Yugoslavia.

The presidency of the Bosnia-Herzegovina socialist alliance today asssessed that the legal state can completely legitimately resort to those measures, including repression, which might be necessary for restoring normality and safety in Kosovo.

The Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro stressed that it had received with deep respect the mass expression of patriotism and the citizens' readiness to [word indistinct], if need be, in the defence of the integrity of the country. The Presidency warned, however, that the very act of citizens getting organized into volunteer detachments and commands at their own initiative, in addition to the country's armed forces, is at variance with the law and the Consititution.

Kosovo Presidium Views Current Problems

LD0202225890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—At its session today, attended also by President of the SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek, the Presidium of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo judged that the political and security situation in the province is extremely difficult and complex, with a tendency to deteriorate even further. Riza Sapundziju, member of the SFRY Presidency; Miroslav Djordjevic, Skender Karahoda, and Aleksandar Bakocevic, members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; and Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, were also participating in the session's proceedings.

A statement from the session reads: "The hostile demonstrations and latest rallies staged by certain members of the Albanian nationality in the province are dealing a hard blow at the overall efforts in Kosovo, the republic, and the whole country to normalize the political and security situation more rapidly. The freedom, lives, and security of citizens are particularly threatened, a fact that, unfortunately, has recently been confirmed by bloodshed and the deaths of innocent victims. Such a situation is exercising a very negative impact on the implementation of the already initiated deep economic, political, and democratic changes to which our country has resolutely committed itself.

"The Presidium demands that all the competent organs and other social bodies engage themselves more effectively with full responsibility, while respecting constitutionality and legality, in implementing the extraordinary measures in effect and in protecting public peace and order and the security and property of all citizens. All citizens, regardless of their nationality or religion, should contribute to stabilizing the situation in Kosovo. Only thus can the deep and longstanding causes of the problems in Kosovo be removed and a democratic and constructive dialogue created with all those who favor Yugoslavia and the implementation of the already initiated economic and political reforms." This is stressed at the end of the statement from the session of the Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province.

Press Review of Events in Kosovo

LD0202114990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1055 GMT 2 Feb 90

["Yugoslav Press on Events in Kosovo"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—"Kosovo is at the very brink of civil war," writes the Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE paper (Yugoslavia's republic Bosnia-Hercegovina) in its today's issue.

In commenting on the consequences of an armed mutiny of Albanian separatists and chauvinists in this Yugoslav province, where 21 people were killed, and 54 others and 45 policemen wounded in the past eleven days, the paper says that the Kosovo crisis can now be solved only by Premier Ante Markovic's government, because the ruling party—the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) virtually existed no longer, whereas the state presidency was "blocked by its famous and exhaustive voting."

According to the VECERNJI LIST paper of Zagreb, "It is quite evident that neither Kosovo, nor Serbia, nor Yugoslavia have as many policemen as would be able to resist the all-national movement of Albanians for greater rights than they have at this moment, and which might not exceed the level of the existent political and civil rights in Yugoslavia's other sections."

The Zagreb VJESNIK daily holds that a long-term solution to the Kosovo problem "must be sought only through common accord, and then by common and concrete civilized acts." It adds that along this line there is the "stand that, for the suppression of disorder, the Army units should not be used...because the engagement of the army is...a step towards civil war."

The DELO Paper of Ljubljana maintains that Albanian demonstrators at this time "certainly are not those who are inconsiderately pushing Kosovo into a chaos, but that they are in the best event the victims of a schemed pogromlike policy." The paper believes that "there is only one exit from the Kosovo crisis: Let the Serbian policy in the province fall, and then start everything in Kosovo all over again."

The Belgrade NIN weekly warns that Albanian separatists and chauvinists in Kosovo "are resorting to every means available to materialize one and only one goal: To create a new Albanian state on the soil of Yugoslavia, on the soil of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. It adds that what should be "placed into a direct relationship in Kosovo should be the force of the separatist 'greater Albanian terror' and the force of the legal state, including here also all the armed forces at the disposal of the state."

The daily RILINDJA of Pristina, published in Albanian, warns that the "Albanian separatists in Kosovo want bloodshed, a fratricial war and terror in Kosovo." It writes that "Albanian nationalism, with visible signs of terrorism, is rampant in the wave of gatherings and demonstrations" in the province.

The daily urges intellectuals, students, teachers and professors, the young and the old in Kosovo "to do everything possible to prevent street demonstrations and vandalism."

RILINDJA writes in another article that "greater support and encouragement and greater duties and responsibilities should be given to the provincial League of Communists committee" in the efforts to normalize the situation in Kosovo.

'Smaller' Protests Continue in Kosovo

AU0202181190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic and Nebojsa Spajic from Kosovo]

[Excerpts] The situation in Kosovo is calmer than it was yesterday thanks primarily to increased movements by units of the Yugoslav People's Army and members of the militia. We have learned that another 2,000 militiamen from the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia arrived this morning. Members of the Yugoslav Army received a warm welcome from all citizens. Albanians have also greeted them with applause. The Army takes part in protecting citizens' security and constitutional order.

A group of about 100 mainly young Albanians tried to provoke unrest near the building of the Pristina Communal Assembly near the Pristina Television building at about 1300 [1200 GMT]. Several older Albanians who had come from a nearby mosque joined them. Militia intervened quickly and dispersed the demonstrators with tear gas. While we are reporting, smaller groups of demonstrators are standing in back streets, but strong militia forces are controlling crossroads. There have been some smaller rallies in the Miladin Popovic Street and the Vranjevac suburb.

There have been some attempts to start demonstrations in Djakovica as well, and groups of Albanians from nearby villages are trying to get into Dragas. For the time being, the militia is intervening successfully. There have been small-scale demonstrations in some villages around Pec and Prizren. [passage omitted]

A tense atmosphere still exists in Kosovo. Some doctors told journalists this morning that the ethnic Serb and Montenegrin staff at the Pristina Surgical Clinic are not allowed to treat injured [povredjen] demonstrators. Although it was said that medicines were in short supply, since the moment that demonstrations begun, there have been too many medicines. No one among Serb and Montenegrin doctors knows how they were obtained.

Dr. Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived in Pristina at about noon. An announcement is expected to be issued from the session of the Kosovo Presidency, which was held behind closed doors. According to the plan, the president of the SFRY Presidency will talk to Pristina University leaders after 1500.

Pec Albanians Demonstrate, Attack Security

LD0202182190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1716 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Pec, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—After a peaceful morning in Pec, about 300 masked Albanian separatists again made their presence felt in the settlement of Kafesnica and on the adjacent Jerinjak mountains late this afternoon. They chanted well-known hostile slogans and attacked the security organs.

More than 5,000 workers in several Pec enterprises and 150 private shops owned by Albanians did not work today, thus expressing solidarity with the demands of the demonstrators.

Serbs and Montenegrins in Pec have, on their own initiative, formed a committee to coordinate all activities in connection with the protection of Slav inhabitants from possible terrorist actions by Albanian separatists.

Belgrade Students' Demands Elaborated

AU0202195690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] A central meeting of Belgrade University students began at the Belgrade student dormitories two hours ago. Students are discussing the measures to resolve the Kosovo problem that have been undertaken, along with future student activities. We have Radovan Pantovic on the line:

Slavoljub Veselinovic presented students' demands on behalf of the students organizational committee. The demands are as follows: If Albanian separatists and chauvinists continue to threaten the freedom and lives of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and Metohija, it will be demanded that a state of alert on the part of the Armed Forces be introduced. It is also demanded that the Serbian internal affairs organs register weapons in the province within 30 days. It is demanded that at its next session, the SFRY Assembly should lift the 1946 law banning the return to Kosovo of Serbs and Montenegrins. It was also demanded that a delegation of Serbian and Montenegrin students participate at the 7 February SFRY Assembly session. Students demand that all Albanian emigrants who have not taken Yugoslav citizenship be expelled from the Yugoslav territory. It is also demanded that the Yugoslav People's Army should remain in Kosovo until the drama of Serbs and Montenegrins in the province is permanently resolved. There have been several more demands. If the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY Presidency fail to meet students' demands by 8 February, students will ask that their political responsibility be examined, and will demand that the Serbian leadership take over the resolution of the Kosovo problem.

All university officials and top city officials are attending the meeting. About 2,000 students have gathered at the student dormitories, including students of Novi Sad, Nis, and Kragujevac universities. There is also a number of students of the Pristina University.

We have learned that students have received messages of support from the universities of Prague, Bologna, Sofia, Helsinki, and Stockholm, from the Independent Union of French Students, and from some other European universities.

The meeting is still under way, mostly in a dignified manner. So far there have been only sporadic calls to go in front of the SFRY Assembly building.

Albanian Citizens Demonstrate in Sibenik

LD0202213290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Sibenik, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—About 100 citizens of Albanian nationality gathered tonight at 1900 outside St Jacob's Cathedral in Sibenik. From there they later marched in a column along the streets of Sibenik, Marshal Tito Square, and Navy Bank, protesting and shouting the slogans such as "We want freedom," "We want democracy," and "Free Vlasi."

Demonstrators Detained in Tetovo

LD0202213690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Tetovo, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—The Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Tetovo has detained several participants in yesterday's hostile demonstrations in this town. Among those detained, on whom knives and propaganda material were found, are persons from Urosevac, Gostivar, and Kicevo, said Apostolski Sibinoski, secretary of the Tetovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs, to journalists today.

In connection with yesterday's demonstrations, meetings have also been held by the Committee for All-People's

Defense and Social Self-Protection and of the presidia of all the socio-political organizations of Tetovo, and there has been an expanded session of the League of Communists Municipal Committee, at which it was assessed that the demonstrations by Albanians in Trg Marsala Tita [Marshal Tito Square] in the Tetovo were nationalist and separatist and that they were prepared in the same centers that were organizing hostile demonstrations in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The demonstrations, it was said, failed, however, to meet with a broader response from Albanians living in Tetovo.

Police Break Up Separatist Demonstrations

LD0202213790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2046 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Demonstrators were injured in a skirmish this afternoon with the police in demonstrations in Klina. During the evening, a militant group of Albanian separatists shouting well-known slogans gathered again in the settlement of Kapisnica in Pec. There were also demonstrations in Gnjilane and Kacanik but they were broken up by rapid police intervention.

Quiet prevailed at about 1900 hours in Kosovo. The security forces will be present tonight, as last night. They were strengthened today by the arrival of new police units. Self- organized citizen guards will be on watch in some villages.

40,000 Attend Demonstrator's Funeral

LD0202201990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1623 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Podujevo, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—About 40,000 ethnic Albanians attended the funeral today of Fal Tala, an ethnic Albanian demonstrator killed yesterday in a clash with security forces in the province of Kosovo.

A long line of mourners started out from Tala's house in Podujevo, a town near the provincial Capital Pristina, and then passed through the centre of the town for a full two hours before reaching the local cemetery in a nearby village.

Tala's body was wrapped in an Albanian flag, and most participants in the funeral procession held their hands high in the air displaying the letter "V," a symbol used by ethnic Albanian chauvinists in Kosovo.

Slovene Red Cross Opens Account for Kosovo

LD0202225390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Summary] Ljubljana, Pristina, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—The Red Cross of Slovenia has opened a charity account for Kosovo following a demand for additional medical supplies needed in the wake of the latest events there.

The Red Cross of Kosovo, however, say that they neither have requested nor have been offered any medical supplies from the republican Red Cross organizations. The officials there say that the Slovene Red Cross sent 10 tons of clothes and shoes last week and that, if offered, they will not refuse any help in money or medical supplies.

Government Says Situation 'Extremely Grave'

LD0302060190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0509 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—The situation in Yugoslavia's southern province of Kosovo is still extremely grave and dramatic, the provincial government announced this evening.

Ethnic Albanian separatists continue to attack police, citizens and facilities. Several days of mass demonstrations which have claimed human lives, work stoppages in a large number of firms, prolonged traffic hold-ups caused by road blocks erected by militants, have all combined to bring life in Kosovo to a standstill and cause concern and uncertainty among the citizens, especially Serbs and Montenegrins.

The government of Kosovo, therefore, calls on the security organs to firmly prevent further demonstrations and other hostile actions which disrupt law and order and threaten the lives and property of the people.

The provincial government further calls for taking legal action against those who do not (?discharge) their obligations at their places of work.

There were clashes between demonstrators and police also this afternoon, in which some demonstrators were injured.

Twenty demonstrators have been killed and 54 demonstrators and 45 policemen have been wounded in Kosovo since the demonstrations broke out on January 23.

More Than 5,000 Students Hold Protest

LD0302025290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0045 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—More than 5,000 Belgrade university students held a protest rally here tonight, demanding vigorous steps for an end to the terror of Albanian separatists and chauvinists in Kosovo, Yugoslavia's southern province.

The students were joined in their protest by their colleagues from other universities in Serbia—Yugoslavia's biggest republic—and Montenegro.

The students were not calmed by Serbian Interior Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic who addressed the rally. He said that the security forces in Kosovo were, for the time being, enough to protect to population in Kosovo and

that reservists were also on alert to help in the struggle against Albanian terrorists, if it was necessary.

The students demanded that the country's Armed Forces be on full alert if the terror in the province continued. They also want a lasting settlement of the drama of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo many of whom have already evacuated their families in fear of direct clashes.

This was the third protest by Belgrade students over the past few days. The protests were critical of the state leadership, demanding its resignation because of its hesitation to settle the drama in Kosovo which has claimed 20 lives already and where the situation is on the verge of a civil war.

Students again demanded the forming of volunteer units to help Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Albanians Demonstrate Once Again in Kosovo

LD0302141790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—At midday precisely, according to the same scenario as on previous days, demonstrations by groups of Albanians began in Podujevo. The demonstrations were begun by some 200 mainly young people, but the police did not intervene and their number doubled within an hour. They were allowed to walk around the streets of Podujevo shouting slogans without interference.

In Pristina's brotherhood and Unity Street, a group of demonstrators also began disorders at midday, but the police dispersed them.

There were also smaller gatherings of Albanians in several villages. In the Cirez local community of the Srbica municipality, some 50 Albanians demanded a meeting with the president of the municipal League of Communist Committee and the police commander, while in Glogovac more than 5,000 people gathered for the funeral of one of the victims of the demonstrations.

Kosovo Death Toll Now Estimated at 25

LD0302145490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 3 Feb (TANJUG) According to official information given to journalists today, 25 persons were killed and 75 demonstrators injured in riots and demonstrations in Kosovo that lasted several days. Demonstrators injured 45 policemen, two seriously, in attacks on security forces. One policemen was seriously wounded by a firearm and the other by a hard object.